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*Democratic party. National convention, Baltimore, 1872*

# OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

*S 2454*

OF THE

# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION,

HELD AT

BALTIMORE, JULY 9, 1872.

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REPORTED FOR THE CONVENTION.

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## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

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BALTIMORE, Md., Tuesday, July 9, 1872.

THE National Democratic Convention, to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, assembled at Ford's Opera House, in the City of Baltimore, at 12 m., July 9, pursuant to the call of the National Democratic Executive Committee.

The Hon. AUGUST BELMONT, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, appeared upon the platform in the performance of his duty of calling the Convention to order, and was greeted with loud cheers. When quiet was restored he spoke as follows:—

### *Speech of the Hon. August Belmont.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION,—It is again my privilege to welcome the delegates of the National Democracy, who have met in order to present to the American people the candidates for President and Vice President for whom they solicit the suffrage of the Democratic and Conservative voters of this great Republic. (Applause.) At our last National Convention, on the 4th of July, 1868, I predicted that the election of General Grant would result in the gradual usurpation of all the functions of the Government by the Executive and by Congress, to be enforced by the bayonets of a military despotism. The vast majority of the people of the United States have witnessed, with grief and sorrow, the correctness of that prediction, and they look forward with fear and apprehension to the dangers which are threatening us if, by the re-election of Gen. Grant, the policy thus far pursued by the radical party can be continued. The thinking men of both parties have become alive to the fact that we are now living under a military despotism, overriding the civil authority in many States of the Union; that by the enactment of arbitrary and unconstitutional laws, through a depraved majority in Congress, the rights of these States are infringed and trampled upon, and that Cæsarism and centralization are undermining the very foundations of our Federal system, and are sweeping away the constitutional bulwarks erected by the wisdom of the fathers of the

Republic. These abuses have become so glaring that the wisest and best men of the Republican party have severed themselves from the Radical wing, which is trying to fasten upon the country another four years' reign of corruption, usurpation, and despotism; and, whatever individual opinion we may entertain as to the choice of the candidate whom they have selected in opposition to Gen. Grant, there cannot be any doubt of the patriotic impulses which dictated their action, nor can any fault be found with the platform of principles upon which they have placed their candidate. (Loud and continued applause.)

The resolutions of the Cincinnati Convention are what the country requires, and they must command the hearty support of every patriot throughout the vast extent of our land. (Applause.) In the struggle which is before us we must look to principles and not men, and I trust that no personal predilections or prejudices will deter us from doing our duty to the American people. (Great cheering.)

Gen. Grant was a good and faithful soldier during our civil war; his stubborn and indomitable courage helped to crown the Union arms with victory; and the American people have rewarded his services with the most unbounded generosity. I am willing to concede that his intentions on taking the Presidential chair were good and patriotic, but he has most signally and sadly failed in the discharge of the high trust imposed upon him by the confidence of a grateful people. He is at this moment the very personification of the misrule which is oppressing us, and his re-election is fraught with the most deplorable consequences for the welfare of the republic, and endangers the liberties of our people. (Applause.)

On the other hand, Mr. Greeley has been heretofore a bitter opponent of the Democratic party, and the violent attacks against myself individually, which have from time to time appeared in his journal, certainly do not entitle him to any sympathy or preference at my hands. But Mr. Greeley represents the National and Constitutional principles of the Cincinnati platform (enthusiastic cheering), and by his admirable and manly letter of acceptance, he has shown that he is fully alive to their spirit, and that, if elected, he means to carry them out honestly and faithfully. (Great cheering.) Should you, therefore, in your wisdom, decide to pronounce in favor of the Cincinnati candidates, I shall for one cheerfully bury all past differences, and vote and labor for their election with the same zeal and energy with which I have supported heretofore, and mean ever to support, the candidates of the Democratic party. (Loud applause.) The American people look with deep solicitude to your deliberations. It is for you to devise means by which to free them from the evils under which they are suffering. But, in order to attain that end, you are called upon to make every sacrifice of personal and party preference. However much you might desire to fight the coming battle for our rights and liberties under one of the trusted leaders of the Democratic party, it will become your duty to discard all considerations of party tradition if the selection of a good and wise man outside of our own ranks offers better chances of success. (Applause.) You must remember that you are not here only as

Democrats, but as citizens of our common country, and that no sacrifice can be too great which she demands at your hands. (Applause.)

And now, before I propose to your acceptance the temporary Chairman of this Convention, permit me to detain you one moment longer by a few words of an entirely personal character. With my present action terminate my official functions as Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, — an office which, by the confidence of my constituents and the courtesy of my colleagues, I have held for twelve consecutive years. During all that time I have striven with honest zeal, and with all the energy and capacity which God has given me, to do my duty faithfully to the party and to the country, and to render myself worthy of the great trust confided to me. (Applause.) While I was grieved and deeply mortified to see at various times my motives and actions misconstrued by several Democratic papers, and that some even descended to the fabrication of the most absurd falsehoods concerning my social and political conduct, I have had the proud and consoling satisfaction that my colleagues on the National Committee, and all those who know me, did justice to the integrity and purity of my intentions in all the trying situations in which my official position had placed me (applause); and let me tell you, gentlemen, that there is not one among you who bears a warmer and truer affection for our party and our country than I have done and ever shall do. (Applause.) You love this great republic, your native land, as you do the mother who gave you birth; but to me she is the cherished bride and choice of my youth; the faithful and loving companion of my manhood; and now that I enter upon the sere and yellow leaf of life, I cling to her with all the fond recollections of the manifold blessings I have received at her hands. (Applause.) I retire from the position which I have held to take my place in the rank and file of that great party who senational, constitutional, and conservative principles have claimed my unwavering allegiance for the past thirty years, and as long as the Almighty will spare my life I shall never falter in my love and devotion to our party and our country.

Mr. Belmont closed amid loud and enthusiastic cheering. When the applause had subsided, Mr. Belmont resumed: —

GENTLEMEN, — I have the honor to propose to you, as your temporary Chairman, a distinguished and venerable citizen of Virginia, a grandson of the patriot and statesman Thomas Jefferson. It is an auspicious omen that a scion of the author of the Declaration of Independence is to inaugurate the struggle of the Democracy for freedom and equality for every American citizen, and against oppression and tyranny in our fair land. I propose to you, as your temporary Chairman, Mr. Thomas Randolph, of Virginia.

The nomination was received with loud cheers. Mr. Randolph, on coming forward, was greeted with a round of applause, and spoke as follows: —

I am aware that the very great honor conferred on me by this body is due to no personal merit of my own, but is a token of respect to the State from which I come, and a recognition of other circumstances possibly adventitious. I am perhaps the oldest member of this body, and a life of eighty years spent in the Democratic-Republican party constitutes me a senior member. (Applause.) I remember freshly every Presidential contest from the first election of Jefferson to the present time, and I can say with truth that I remember none which involved higher questions of personal liberty, local self-government, honest administration, and constitutional freedom, than the present, or one which demanded of our party and our people a calmer or more earnest recourse to prudential principles. (Applause.) It strikes me as the duty of this hour and of this body to wrest the Government from the hands of its present despotic and corrupt holders, and to place it in honest hands; to restore to the citizen everywhere the proud consciousness of personal right, and to all the States perfect integrity of local self-government. (Applause.) This, with the recognition of the supremacy of the civil constitution and the law, will, in my judgment, discharge all our present duty. (Applause.)

The Rev. HENRY SLICER, D. D., of the Methodist Episcopal church, was then introduced, and opened the proceedings with prayer, as follows: —

*Prayer.*

Almighty God, Maker of all things, Redeemer, Preserver, and Judge of all men, we come before Thee with hearts full of gratitude for the mercies which have been lavished on us in the past and at present, and with hope and confidence in Thee for the future. We thank Thee for all Thy mercies shown to our revolutionary fathers. In the darkest days of their colonial history Thou didst guide them, as with a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, and didst enable them, under Thy guidance, to achieve success in the first war for independence; and when peace had come Thou didst favor them with wisdom and patriotism to lay broad and deep the foundations of the great government which has been preserved by Thy providence to be a blessing to them and their posterity. We look to Thee to-day for the guidance of this body, called together from the mountains of Vermont and from the savannas of the South, from the West and from the East — called together in council to devise ways and means to meet the emergency that is now upon the country; and we pray God to give to this Convention that wisdom which is profitable to direct. Oh that Thy blessing may come down upon our whole country, united through East and West, North and South, as a common brotherhood; that the time may speedily come when there shall be no North, no South, no East, no West known in this broad land; but when the American people shall become free, prosperous and happy. We pray for Thy blessing upon all who are in the General and in the State Governments, and we pray God that the civil and religious liber-

ties of this nation, and that the Constitution, the organic law of this nation, may endure as long as the sun and moon shall endure. Hear us in a heavenly and merciful acceptance, give us, in Thine own good time, a quiet hour to meet death in, and, through infinite riches and mercy and grace in the Mediator, give us a home sanctified in Christ. Amen.

#### *Temporary Organization.*

Mr. FREDERICK O. PRINCE, of Massachusetts, was unanimously chosen temporary Secretary.

On motion of Mr. MADIGAN, of Maine, E. O. Perrin, of New York, was elected temporary Reading Secretary.

Mr. H. D. McHENRY, of Kentucky, offered the following resolution : —

*Resolved*, That this Convention, in receiving the announcement of the retirement of the Hon. August Belmont from the Democratic National Executive Committee, of which he has been Chairman for the past twelve years, desire to express their sense of his long, able and efficient services in that most responsible and difficult position, and confidently rely upon his wise counsel and cordial aid for the future as in the past.

The Chair ruled the resolution out of order, pending proceedings for perfecting the temporary organization.

Mr. C. L. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania, offered the following resolution : —

*Resolved*, That the States be now called, in order that the chairman of each delegation may report the names of the members from each State on each of the several committees, and that the names of any contesting delegates be also reported to the Convention.

Mr. S. S. COX, of New York. — Mr. Chairman, before the question is put, I desire to offer a motion which should take precedence, and I hope that will be withdrawn until I offer the customary resolution, to wit: "That the rules adopted by the last Democratic Convention be the rules for the government of this body until otherwise ordered;" for as yet we are without rules.

Mr. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania. — The resolution I have offered is almost identical with the one adopted by the last Democratic Convention. How can we adopt rules until we see whether the States are all represented here? The first thing is the call of the States.

Mr. S. S. COX, of New York. — Mr. Chairman, I offer the customary resolution.

The PRESIDENT. — The question must be put upon the resolution already offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Lamberton).

Mr. SPEAR, of Pennsylvania.—I move to amend the resolution so as to require that the States be called in alphabetical order. (Cries of "No, no.")

The question was put, and the amendment was agreed to, and the resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

The READING CLERK.—The States will now be called in their order, and the chairman of each delegation will please present the credentials from his State, together with the names of its proposed committee-men.

The Chairman of the Alabama delegation was about to respond to the call of that State, when

Hon. B. F. BIGGS, of Delaware, called for the reading of the resolution adopted on motion of Mr. Lamberton, and when it had been read, said, I submit that the resolution does not call for the presentation of credentials at this time. That matter is to be submitted, in due time, to the Committee on Credentials; we are now simply to select committees.

A DELEGATE.—How many committees are to be appointed?

The READING CLERK.—A Committee on Permanent Organization and a Committee on Credentials.

Mr. BIGGS.—It will be utterly impossible for us to understand this proceeding unless the list of committee-men, as presented by the respective delegations, be read aloud by the Secretary.

The PRESIDENT.—What is now desired is that each delegation shall name one gentleman to serve on the Committee on Credentials, and another to act upon the Committee on Permanent Organization.

Mr. BIGGS.—Do we not want also a Committee on Resolutions?

The PRESIDENT.—That will come after the organization. Nothing is now in order but the appointment of Committees on Credentials and Permanent Organization.

The READING CLERK.—If the Chairman of each delegation will, as his State is called, announce the gentleman to serve upon these committees, the names will be taken down by the Secretary.

Mr. J. R. FOLEY, of Indiana.—That cannot be until we get the matter of credentials settled. We cannot form our committees here until we find out who the delegates are who are present.

Gov. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, of New York.—Mr. Chairman, I have no desire to delay the action of this Convention, but I am at loss to see how the delegations are to suggest the names of gentlemen to act upon these several committees, until the Convention has declared what committees are to be formed. It seems to me that if the States be first called, so that we may know whether all are represented, and if then a resolution be adopted declaring that certain

committees, such as a Committee on Credentials and a Committee on Organization, shall be appointed, then the delegations may name the persons they severally desire to have upon those committees. But, unless this be done, I am at a loss to see how we are to proceed.

The PRESIDENT. — Does the gentleman refer particularly to the two committees he has named?

Gov. HOFFMAN. — As I understand, the Chair has ruled that there can be no adoption of rules for the Convention until the Convention is organized; and I ask how it can be known at present what States are represented and what are not?

The PRESIDENT. — When the Committee on Credentials reports, you will then know.

Gov. HOFFMAN. — But the Convention has not yet ordered the appointment of any Committee on Credentials. I desire that the Convention shall order the appointment of a Committee on Credentials and a Committee on Permanent Organization and that then we shall name the men to constitute those committees.

Mr. E. P. FENLON, of Kansas. — In accordance with the views expressed by Governor Hoffman, I move that the Convention order two committees — a Committee on Credentials and a Committee on Permanent Organization; each committee to consist of one member from every State.

A VOICE, interposing. — And a Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. FENLON. — We do not want any such committee yet. I have framed my motion in the form of a resolution, which I send to the Clerk.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows: —

*Resolved*, That this Convention do now appoint the following standing committees: First, a Committee on Credentials; second, a Committee on Permanent Organization.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. M. DOHERTY, of Massachusetts. — It strikes me we have not proceeded aright. The first thing in order is a call of the States. I move such a call.

The PRESIDENT. — A resolution of that kind has already been adopted.

Mr. H. H. CHALMERS, of Mississippi. — I think that the motion of the gentleman from Kansas was not complete. It ought to have gone a step farther. It ought to have provided that upon the call of the States the Chairman of the delegation from each State should present a list of the delegates from his State; and then I would suggest, if it appears there are no contested delegations, the returns made by the Chairman of the respective delegations might supersede altogether the necessity for a Committee on Credentials. The report made by the Chairman of each delegation would be equivalent to the re-

port of a Committee on Credentials. At all events, I suggest that at the present time the Chairman of each delegation send forward a complete list of the delegates from his State.

The PRESIDENT.—The Convention has already ordered the appointment of a Committee on Credentials. The call of the roll will be proceeded with.

The States being called, under the resolutions of Messrs. Lamberton and Fenlon, the following names were presented:—

*The Committee on Credentials.*

<i>Alabama</i> — Eli. S. Shorter.	<i>Missouri</i> — C. J. Nesbitt.
<i>Arkansas</i> — T. C. Flournoy.	<i>Nebraska</i> — W. A. Colman.
<i>California</i> — W. F. Goad.	<i>Nevada</i> — J. M. Quimbie.
<i>Connecticut</i> — J. S. Dobson.	<i>New Hampshire</i> — Frank Jones.
<i>Delaware</i> — E. L. Martin.	<i>New Jersey</i> — John N. Voorhees.
<i>Florida</i> — S. T. Finlay.	<i>New York</i> — Oliver Charlick.
<i>Georgia</i> — G. R. Black.	<i>North Carolina</i> — H. G. Williams.
<i>Illinois</i> — H. C. Dent.	<i>Ohio</i> — Wiley H. Oldham.
<i>Indiana</i> — D. D. Dykeman.	<i>Oregon</i> — E. F. Colby.
<i>Iowa</i> — B. F. Montgomery.	<i>Pennsylvania</i> — C. L. Lamberton.
<i>Kansas</i> — W. R. Wagstaff.	<i>Rhode Island</i> — Thos. A. Reynolds.
<i>Kentucky</i> — T. C. Dabney.	<i>South Carolina</i> — F. F. Warley.
<i>Louisiana</i> — E. Rost.	<i>Tennessee</i> — J. W. Burton.
<i>Maine</i> — S. C. Andrews.	<i>Texas</i> — B. H. Bassett.
<i>Maryland</i> — J. K. Hines.	<i>Vermont</i> — G. W. Aiken.
<i>Massachusetts</i> — N. Hathaway.	<i>Virginia</i> — Fitz-Hugh Lee.
<i>Michigan</i> — F. Livermore.	<i>West Virginia</i> — Alexander Campbell.
<i>Minnesota</i> — J. C. Wise.	<i>Wisconsin</i> — Jno. P. Hume.
<i>Mississippi</i> — R. Seal.	

*The Committee on Permanent Organization.*

<i>Alabama</i> — L. M. Stone.	<i>Maryland</i> — R. Fowler.
<i>Arkansas</i> — G. Wilcox.	<i>Massachusetts</i> — W. A. Williams.
<i>California</i> — J. H. Hardy.	<i>Michigan</i> — J. J. Robinson.
<i>Connecticut</i> — James Gallagher.	<i>Minnesota</i> — G. E. Skinner.
<i>Delaware</i> — B. F. Biggs.	<i>Mississippi</i> — B. J. Semmes.
<i>Florida</i> — C. A. Smith.	<i>Missouri</i> — G. C. Vest.
<i>Georgia</i> — T. Hardeman.	<i>Nebraska</i> — W. H. Platt.
<i>Illinois</i> — S. Ott.	<i>Nevada</i> — J. H. Flack.
<i>Indiana</i> — Robert Lowry.	<i>New Hampshire</i> — G. Putnam.
<i>Iowa</i> — J. P. Allison.	<i>New Jersey</i> — John P. Stockton.
<i>Kansas</i> — T. W. Waterson.	<i>New York</i> — Delos DeWolf.
<i>Kentucky</i> — Geo. G. Perkins.	<i>North Carolina</i> — J. Manning, jr.
<i>Louisiana</i> — D. Edwards.	<i>Ohio</i> — M. A. Daugherty.
<i>Maine</i> — J. M. Churchill.	<i>Oregon</i> — J. J. Kelley.

*Pennsylvania* — Jas. Burns.  
*Rhode Island* — Wm. J. Miller.  
*South Carolina* — Wm. H. Wallace.  
*Tennessee* — Enoch Ensley.  
*Texas* — M. D. K. Taylor.

*Vermont* — B. B. Smalley,  
*Virginia* — W. R. Berkeley.  
*West Virginia* — B. F. Martin.  
*Wisconsin* — S. A. Pease.

When Indiana was called, Mr. Martin M. Ray said :—

Mr. CHAIRMAN, — The action of this Convention is not in response to the resolution. A response to the resolution would be for each State to answer that it is present by a number of its delegates and to send to the Chair the names of said delegates. There is no committee called for by the resolution. For Indiana I respond to the resolution, and send up the names of her delegates.

After the State of Wisconsin had responded —

The PRESIDENT said — If the call of States is concluded you will proceed to call the Territories.

Mr. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania. — Mr. Chairman, Territories are not included in the resolution.

The SECRETARY. — I have called all of the States.

Gov. HOFFMAN, of New York. — I desire, sir, in order that the record may be made straight, to make a necessary motion, and it is this, that there be now two committees appointed by this Convention, one on credentials and one on permanent organization, and that they be composed of the names which have been suggested by the respective States. My motion is made simply to make complete the record.

Mr. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania. — I rise to a point of order. The motion cannot be entertained during the call of the roll.

The SECRETARY. — The call of the roll is completed.

Mr. LAMBERTON, of Penn. — I beg pardon.

Gov. HOFFMAN. — My motion is made simply to make complete the record.

The motion was agreed to.

MARTIN M. RAY, of Indiana. — I now desire, Mr. Chairman, to send up a list of committee-men from Indiana. (Laughter.) Indiana names as her member of the Committee on Credentials, D. D. Dykeman, and as her member of the Committee on Permanent Organization, Robert Lowry.

S. S. Cox, of New York. — I offer the following resolution : —

*Resolved*, That the rules adopted for the government of the last National Democratic Convention be adopted by this Convention until otherwise ordered.

This resolution should have been adopted just after prayers. We have no

rules as yet, and unless we adopt rules for our government temporarily, until the Committee on Permanent Organization report, we will get tangled up.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. BROADHEAD, of Missouri. — I move that the Convention now adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning. (Cries of "Oh, no!") That will give the committees time to act.

The PRESIDENT. — Will the gentleman amend his resolution so as to say 5 o'clock this afternoon, in order that time may be given for an organization to be effected to-day?

Mr. BROADHEAD. — I have no objection to so amending it. (Cries of "No, no.")

The SECRETARY. — I have now to announce that a resolution that was declared out of order before the temporary organization was completed, is now ordered to be read by the President.

By Mr. H. D. McHENRY, of Kentucky:—

*Resolved*, That this Convention, in receiving the announcement of the retirement of the Hon. August Belmont from the Democratic National Executive Committee, of which he has been Chairman for the past twelve years, desire to express their sense of his long, able, and efficient service in that most responsible and difficult position, and, while submitting to his desire to be relieved from its labors and duties, confidently rely upon his wise counsel and cordial aid for the future as in the past.

The question was put on the resolution, and it was unanimously adopted, amid applause.

The resolution for a recess was finally amended by inserting 4 o'clock instead of 5 this afternoon; and the Convention then adjourned till that hour.

#### *Afternoon Session.*

The Convention reassembled at 4.30 p. m.

The audience patiently waited some time for the Convention to be called to order, the Secretary explaining the cause of delay to be the non-arrival of the proposed permanent Chairman. Meantime, in response to repeated calls for a speech from Governor Hoffman, of New York, Governor H. rose and gracefully acknowledged the compliment, but seemed indisposed to speak. He finally called for the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The SECRETARY stated that the Committee on Credentials had

notified him that there were no contested seats, but they were not ready to make their formal report at that time.

*Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.*

MR. DELOS DEWOLF, of New York, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the permanent officers of the Convention as follows: —

*For President.*

HON. JAMES R. DOOLITTLE, *of Wisconsin.*

(Great applause and long continued cheering on the floor and in the galleries.)

*For Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.*

*Vice Presidents.*

*Secretaries.*

William M. Bird.

ALABAMA.

Alberto Martin.

D. W. Carroll.

ARKANSAS.

W. D. Blocher.

Eugene Casserly.

CALIFORNIA.

Henry George.

D. A. Daniels.

CONNECTICUT.

N. V. Steven.

John H. Paynter.

DELAWARE.

James Williams.

Thomas Randall.

FLORIDA.

F. Baltzell.

H. L. Benning.

GEORGIA.

C. W. Styles.

William M. Garrard.

ILLINOIS.

J. H. Oberly.

B. W. Hanna.

INDIANA.

A. T. Whittlesey.

John H. Peters.

IOWA.

S. B. Evans.

Isaac Sharp.

KANSAS.

E. M. Hewlett.

<i>Vice Presidents.</i>	<i>Secretaries.</i>
G. P. Doern.	KENTUCKY. J. M. Hines.
J. A. Taylor.	LOUISIANA. William M. Levy.
William H. McCrillis.	MAINE. Albert Moore.
Robert T. Banks.	MARYLAND. Thomas H. Moore.
D. D. Broadhead.	MASSACHUSETTS. C. O. Morse.
E. H. Lothrop.	MICHIGAN. Henry M. Look.
William Lee.	MINNESOTA. J. J. Eagan.
J. W. C. Watson.	MISSISSIPPI. J. M. Allen.
Silas Woodson.	MISSOURI. D. J. Heaston.
John Black.	NEBRASKA. W. A. Coleman.
S. B. Wyman.	NEVADA. George G. Berry.
G. W. M. Pitman.	NEW HAMPSHIRE. William Rand.
A. H. Slape.	NEW JERSEY. Leon Abbott.
Thomas Kinsella.	NEW YORK. L. B. Faulkner.
R. F. Armfield.	NORTH CAROLINA. J. A. Englehard.
Alfred Gaither.	OHIO. E. J. Dodd.
E. F. Colby.	OREGON. — — —
William McMullen.	PENNSYLVANIA. William M. Randall.

<i>Vice Presidents.</i>	<i>Secretaries.</i>
	RHODE ISLAND.
Lyman Pierce.	William Beach.
	SOUTH CAROLINA.
William Aiken.	James F. Izlar.
	TENNESSEE.
Neal S. Brown.	M. C. Galloway.
	TEXAS.
J. W. Henderson.	R. H. Walker.
	VERMONT.
W. T. Harrobin.	George H. Weeks.
	VIRGINIA.
Robert Ould.	A. W. C. Nowlin.
	WEST VIRGINIA.
Allen T. Caperton.	— — —
	WISCONSIN.
H. H. Gray.	— — —
	DAKOTA.
Bartlett Tripp.	T. F. Lingiser.
	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
R. T. Merrick.	William Dickson.
	IDAHO.
D. S. Anderson.	Albert Heed.
	NEW MEXICO.
C. P. Clever.	Z. Staab.

*For Reading Secretaries.*

E. O. Perrin, of New York.  
 A. W. Whittlesey, of Indiana.  
 Thomas H. Moore, of Maryland.

*For Recording Secretary.*

John C. Barr, of Pennsylvania.

On motion of Mr. THOMAS P. FENLON, of Kansas, the report of the committee was received and adopted.

Senator BAYARD, of Delaware, and Governor HOFFMAN, of New

York, were appointed by the Chair to escort the Permanent President to the chair. On mounting the platform, Senator Doolittle was received with great applause. When order was restored, he said :—

*Speech of the Permanent President.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION,—I thank you for this great honor—words can hardly tell how much. But you will allow me to pass at once from what is personal to speak of the occasion, the duty, and the purpose which bring us here. Two years ago—nearly five years after the bloody period of the civil war had closed—the Liberal Republicans of Missouri (applause), feeling keenly all the evil of the proscription, test oaths, hates, strifes, and passions the war had left upon them long after the war itself had ceased, and feeling keenly federal executive dictation in their local elections, determined to organize a movement to restore equal rights to all her citizens (applause), white and black (applause); to restore local self-government to her people, and to arrest the further centralization of federal power. (Applause.) They said, this thing has gone far enough, if not too far. The time has come when all honest and patriotic Republicans must halt, and reassert the vital doctrine of republican government—that under the constitution the powers of the federal government are defined and limited (applause and cries of “Good! Good!”), and that the people of the States have the right to govern themselves in their own domestic affairs, upon the basis of the equality of all the States before the constitution, as well as of all men before the law (applause), of universal loyalty, amnesty, suffrage and peace. Taking no steps backward, taking away no right and no franchise which had been secured to the blacks,—pledging themselves to support them all in full vigor, they, at the same time, demanded, in the name of peace, in the name of liberty, in the name of republican government itself, that freedom and equal rights should be restored to the white people of Missouri. (Great applause.)

They organized, nearly forty thousand strong, and called upon B. Gratz Brown (applause) to lead the movement. They placed him in nomination for Governor, and, then, what followed? Eighty thousand Democratic Republicans (cheers), looking upon the success of that movement as above any party triumph (cheers), resolved to sustain it with their whole strength. Love of country, love of republican liberty, love of equal rights of all men inspired that union, and taught men to act together who had been politically opposed to each other all their lives upon other questions, and that, too, without violating honor, logic, conscience or consistency on either side. This patriotic union was based upon higher grounds than ordinarily control political action. (Great applause.) Even those who had fought against each other in battle clasped hands over the bloody chasm (renewed applause), and, side by side, like brothers with hearts in unison, and beating strong with the same high purpose, they helped to bear its flag to a glorious victory.

That, gentleman, is Liberal Republicanism (enthusiasm), and that is Democratic Republicanism. (Great enthusiasm.) The victory which came from that union was the end of proscription, of test oaths, of hate and strife, and of all disloyalty. In a word, the real end of the civil war came with that victory, and did not come, until then, in Missouri. (Intense applause.) It redeemed that State. It gave the rights of freemen to seventy thousand men of our own race and kindred. Missouri is now a free State, in the Union, with all her rights, dignity and equality under the constitution, and not one murmur of disloyalty is anywhere heard. By that union, federal dictation in Missouri in their local elections was overthrown. *By that union*, strife and hate have given place to peace and good-will. By that union, liberty, with equal rights for all, have given to the State unbounded prosperity, and to her people a joy almost unspeakable. So great was their joy and so complete their success, the Liberal Republicans of that State were not content without making an effort to extend the same union of Liberal and Democratic Republicans, and with it the same blessings of liberty, peace, and fraternity, to all the States. (Rounds of applause.)

Accordingly, in State Convention, on the 24th of March last, they resolved to invite the Liberal Republicans in all the States to meet them in mass convention at Cincinnati on the first day of May. That invitation was accepted. There was indeed a great response. They came in such vast numbers that a delegate Convention of representatives of all the States was formed, both from principle, and from necessity to give proper form to its proceedings. Many of the ablest men of the country, lately leaders in the Republican party, were there, and took part in its deliberations. They were assured that large numbers of Liberal Republicans in every State, and from all portions of the country, stood behind them, ready to sustain them, and they were morally certain that if the millions whom we this day represent (cheers) would only come to their support, the number of Liberal Republicans would reach half a million or more. (Cheers.)

That Convention presented a platform and candidates to the country, — for President, Horace Greeley (long and continued cheering), and for Vice President, B. Gratz Brown (more enthusiasm), and that Convention, for the promotion and success of the principles declared in the platform there enunciated, and the support of the candidates nominated by that Convention, have invited and cordially welcomed the co-operation of all patriotic citizens without regard to previous political affiliation. Those principles were so clearly and concisely stated in the platform itself; and restated in the letter of acceptance of Mr. Greeley (more cheering), and they are so well known to you all, that I will not restate them. For weeks that platform and those candidates, and that invitation to patriotic citizens, all have been before the country.

Meanwhile the Convention called to nominate Gen. Grant (hisses), and to endorse and continue the principles, practices and policy of his administration, has done its work. (Hisses.) As between the Liberal Republicans and the followers of the Grant administration the issue is now clearly made up. It is

Grant or Greeley. (Immense enthusiasm and cries of "Greeley! Greeley!") While these events were passing, the Democratic Republicans, whom we represent, held their Conventions in all the States. The Liberal Republican movement, the example of Missouri, the Cincinnati Convention, its platform and its candidates, with their letters of acceptance, were all before these Conventions, which were very largely attended by their ablest men. The paramount questions before them all were: "Shall we accept this invitation to co-operate with the Liberal Republicans?" (Great applause.) "Shall we adopt their platform?" (Loud cries of "Yes! yes!" and some cries of "Never!") "Shall we nominate the same candidates" ("Yes! yes!"), and shall we elect them ("Yes! yes! yes!" and loud cheering); "or shall we refuse to co-operate" ("No!"), "nominate other candidates" ("No! no! Greeley! Greeley!"), "and strive to elect them over both tickets already in the field?" Gentlemen, these are the questions which you are to decide now and here. That you will decide them wisely I cannot doubt, nor can any one doubt who looks over this body of men, representing as they do three millions of citizens, and who feels, as every one here must feel, the high and patriotic purpose which inspires you.

Gentlemen, what means this great and rising movement which we everywhere see? What means this proposed union of three millions of Democratic Republicans with a million, it may be, of Liberal Republicans? What means this union upon a common platform, and this proposed union upon the same candidates, — a union so sudden, so compact, so earnest as to surprise its friends and to confound its enemies (applause); which "comes as the winds come;" which, to borrow a figure, overwhelms the ordinary currents of public opinion, as great storms always run counter to the currents upon the surface, — what means all this? There are some things, gentlemen, it does not mean. It means no abandonment of what is true, of what is just, of what is good in human government. (Applause.) It means no union of dead men on dead issues, but a union of the living upon living issues. (Applause.) It means no union for the spoils of office (applause), but it means a union of men with the same faith, upon the great and paramount issue of the present hour, — a frank, manly, honorable and equal union of men who have the sagacity to see and the moral courage to accept the situation ("Good! good!" and loud cheering); to see what is past; to deal with the present, and for the future; to do their duty to their country, God, and their fellow-men. (Applause.)

The issue of to-day is not the repeal of the Missouri compromise; nor the question of slavery in the Territories, upon which alone the Republican party was organized in 1856; and, which, followed by the Lecompton constitution for Kansas, divided the Democratic party in twain and elected Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in 1860. It is not the question of secession; nor of war to put down rebellion; nor of abolition of slavery in the States by military order, or by constitutional amendment, upon which Mr. Lincoln was re-elected in 1864. Nor yet is it the question of reconstruction; nor of the

fourteenth or fifteenth amendment; nor the question of suffrage and citizenship; nor of the establishment by federal power of universal negro suffrage as a condition to the States of the South having any rights or any existence, even as States in the Union. It is none of these questions that is now in issue. All these have been issues in the past — great issues — sufficient in themselves to create and to dissolve political parties, because ideas are stronger than men or parties; but they are all past issues. They have been fought out and fought to the end, in the forum or on the field. They are no more in issue, to-day, than is the Mexican war, or the war of the Revolution. (Applause.) We could not reopen those issues, if we would, and they utterly mistake or falsely misrepresent our duty and our purpose who say we would reopen them if we could. (Loud cheering.) This great Union, therefore, means no step backward. (Cheers.) Forward! is the word. (Loud cheering.) What, then, does it mean?

First of all, it means to do for all the States of the South what it has already done in Missouri. (Cheers.) Instead of proscription, test oaths, suspension of *habeas corpus*, and military despotism, it means personal freedom for the individual and republican government for all. (Loud applause.) Instead of negro supremacy, upheld by proscription and the bayonet, it means equal rights to all men, white as well as black. (Loud applause.) Instead of thieving governments, organized to plunder subjugated States, it means the domination once more of intelligence and integrity over their affairs. (Applause.) Instead of strifes, hates, and robberies, it means justice, liberty, peace, loyalty and good will. And, gentlemen, for our whole country, East, West, North and South, it means, instead of a war President, trained only in a military school, and whose whole character has been formed in the ideas, arts, habits and despotism of military life, — instead of this, it means the election of a peace President (cheers), trained in the ideas, arts, blessings and republican simplicity of peace and of liberty (loud cheering); of peace not enchain'd; of liberty not under military arrest, awaiting trial, sentence and execution at a drum-head court-martial; but that liberty and that peace which the constitution secures by placing the civil law above the sword (loud applause), and by preserving in full vigor the sacred writ of *habeas corpus*, and the right of trial by jury. (Applause.) It means another thing, and perhaps the most important of them all,—it means to arrest the centralization of power in the Federal Government. (Loud cheering.) It means to assert the vital principle of our republican system, in which alone it lives and moves and has its being, — that constitutions are made by the people in their sovereign capacity, for the express purpose of defining and limiting (applause) the powers of all governments, state or national; and that we are determined that Presidents and Governors, Congresses and State Legislatures, and every department of government, shall obey the constitution they are sworn to support. (Prolonged applause.)

It means to put an end forever to certain practices which have grown up with this administration; which have driven so many of the ablest Republicans

to join in this liberal movement; and which have deeply wounded the hearts of all Republicans, as well as Democrats in this country (applause); — practices which never existed or were tolerated under other administrations; which are but too well known to all the world, and which our nation's good reputation will be best consulted by not even naming. (Cheers.) It means also to give strength and stability to our financial affairs and to our national credit, by bringing honesty, economy and fidelity to every position, federal, state, or municipal, where public moneys are collected and disbursed (cheers); and by the honest payment of all our obligations. (Renewed applause.) It means to give higher tone and greater vigor to the administration of our foreign and domestic affairs so as to command the respect and confidence of our own people and of the civilized world. It means to place in the highest offices of our government men of whom all the world will say they are honest and they are capable. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, I have thus briefly called to mind the occasion, the duty, and the purpose which bring us here. A great responsibility rests upon this Convention. If its action shall be such (and I doubt not it will be) as to put an end to the misrule which for the last few years has afflicted our beloved country, this generation and the generations to come will remember with pride and gratitude the Convention at Baltimore of the 9th of July, 1872.

Amid loud and long-continued applause Mr. Doolittle took his seat.

The Vice Presidents then, upon the invitation of the President, came forward and took their seats upon the platform.

The PRESIDENT. — The Chair awaits the action of the Convention. He understands that no Committee on Resolutions has been appointed. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

Gen. JNO. A McCLEERNAND, of Illinois. — I move that a committee of one from each State, to be named by the respective delegations, be appointed a Committee on Resolutions.

The PRESIDENT. — The gentleman from Illinois will please send up his proposition in writing.

Mr. G. G. PERKINS, of Kentucky, offered the following resolution: —

*Resolved*, That a Committee on Resolutions, composed of one delegate from each State, be appointed by the President, upon the suggestion of the chairman of each State delegation, upon a call by States.

The resolution of Mr. Perkins was adopted and in pursuance thereof the States were called, when the following-named gentlemen were announced to constitute the Committee on Resolutions: —

*The Committee on Resolutions.*

<i>Alabama</i> — C. F. Scott.	<i>Missouri</i> — Wm. Hyde.
<i>Arkansas</i> — J. F. Fagan.	<i>Nebraska</i> — E. W. Thomas.
<i>California</i> — Wm. M. Givin.	<i>Nevada</i> — Geo. G. Berry.
<i>Connecticut</i> — A. E. Burr.	<i>New Hampshire</i> — H. Bingham.
<i>Delaware</i> — T. F. Bayard.	<i>New Jersey</i> — C. H. Valentine.
<i>Florida</i> — C. H. Smith.	<i>New York</i> — Wm. Cassidy.
<i>Georgia</i> — Isaac W. Avery.	<i>North Carolina</i> — T. L. Clingman.
<i>Illinois</i> — Aaron K. Shaw.	<i>Ohio</i> — J. F. McKinney.
<i>Indiana</i> — H. W. Harrington.	<i>Oregon</i> — Jas. R. Kelly.
<i>Iowa</i> — Charles Mason.	<i>Pennsylvania</i> — Saml. J. Randall.
<i>Kansas</i> — John Martin.	<i>Rhode Island</i> — N. Van Slyck.
<i>Kentucky</i> — R. Malory.	<i>South Carolina</i> — M. P. O'Connor.
<i>Louisiana</i> — J. M. Sandige.	<i>Tennessee</i> — J. H. Savage.
<i>Maine</i> — T. W. Hubbard.	<i>Texas</i> — G. W. Smith.
<i>Maryland</i> — Montgomery Blair.	<i>Vermont</i> — H. W. Heaton.
<i>Massachusetts</i> — Oliver Stevens.	<i>Virginia</i> — Jno. B. Baldwin.
<i>Michigan</i> — J. M. Crane.	<i>West Virginia</i> — Henry Brannon.
<i>Minnesota</i> — C. H. Berry.	<i>Wisconsin</i> — E. S. Bragg.
<i>Mississippi</i> — E. Barksdale.	

**The PRESIDENT.** — Those gentlemen named by the several delegations are appointed by the Chair as members of the Committee on Resolutions, pursuant to the resolution adopted.

**Mr. JOHN L. HUNTER**, of Conn., moved that there be added to the list the District of Columbia, and that she be allowed a representative upon the Committee on Resolutions.

**Mr. THOMAS P. FENLON**, of Kansas, moved to amend by adding each of the Territories, and the amendment was accepted by Mr. Hunter.

**Mr. H. B. SMITH**, of Vermont. — Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to say a word against the Territories or the District of Columbia; but above the interests of these Territories I desire to preserve the usages and practices and principles of the Democratic party. It is hardly in accordance with these practices to let the feeble organizations of the Territories come in here and control the action of the older and larger States. I therefore am opposed to the resolution.

**Mr. NICHOLAS HATHAWAY**, of Mass. — I move that the resolution of the gentleman from Connecticut be laid on the table.

The question was put upon the motion to lay on the table, and it was declared carried.

Mr. MERRICK, of the District of Columbia, called attention to the fact that the resolution in regard to the delegates from the District of Columbia was not offered by any of the delegates from the District, but by the delegate from Connecticut, Mr. Hunter.

Mr. BAYLESS W. HANNA, of Indiana, offered the following resolution :—

*Resolved*, That all resolutions pertaining to the platform of principles to be adopted by this Convention be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Hon. ROBERT CHRISTIE, of New York. — I move to amend by adding that they be referred without reading. (Loud cries of "No!" and "Yes! Yes!")

The question being put on the amendment it was agreed to, and the resolution as amended was then adopted.

Various delegates sent to the Chair resolutions which, under the rule already adopted, were referred to the Committee on Resolutions without reading. Among these were the following :—

By M. A. DAUGHERTY, of Ohio :—

*Resolved*, That believing the safety and welfare of the country demand at this time the united action of all patriotic citizens (however widely they may have heretofore differed or may now differ in political opinion) to effect a change in the administration of the general government, and believing, also, that in the present crisis of public affairs the Democratic party can best promote the true interests of the country by not presenting candidates from its own ranks for President and Vice President, and by cordially uniting in the support of the candidates presented by the Liberal Republicans through their Convention at Cincinnati; therefore, we do hereby nominate Horace Greeley, of New York, for President of the United States, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice President of the United States.

By S. F. BUTTERWORTH, of California :—

*Resolved*, That we recognize and accept the doctrine of the civil equality of all men, without regard to color or past condition, as a fixed and established principle, which as a party we will not attempt to change; and that we will in good faith support, sustain, and defend the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution as the paramount law of the land.

By JAMES GALLAGHER, of Connecticut :—

*Resolved*, That accepting the Constitution as it is, with the fourteenth amendment, declaring all persons born or naturalized in the United States subject to the jurisdiction thereof, citizens, and concurring in the opinion of

Judge Taney, that "a citizen is one who has entire equality of privileges, civil and political," we are logically compelled to admit that women, being citizens, are possessed of the right to vote, and entitled to national protection in the exercise thereof.

Also the following : —

Democrats, believing that officers of elections should be encouraged to register the names and receive the votes of women citizens equally with men, leaving the question of the legality of such votes to the decision of the Legislatures of the several States, respectfully ask the adoption of the following resolution by the National Democratic Convention : —

*Resolved*, That the Democratic party, true to its name and original purpose of recognizing the sovereignty of individuals, does now cordially invite the sympathy, labor, and vote of all citizens of the United States, irrespective of sex, color or condition, and pledges itself to the protection of women citizens at the ballot equally with men.

Also by Mr. GALLAGHER, resolutions favoring promotion of the material condition of the people by a more equitable distribution of the products of labor ; asserting that the General Government should substitute for the present currency legal-tender treasury notes, exchangeable at holder's option for govermental securities, redeemable in said treasury notes ; condemning the neglect of the General Government to enforce the eight-hour law, and pledging the Democratic party to such amendment of the patent laws as shall work the forfeiture of a patent monopoly where those engaged in manufacturing a patented article are worked more than eight hours daily. Also, favoring direct taxation exclusively, graduated to the wealth of the individual. Also, favoring the enactment of laws to secure minorities fair representation.

By Mr. A. MINER, of Utah. — A resolution favoring such modification of the rules as shall admit Territorial delegates to full membership in Democratic National Conventions hereafter.

By Mr. W. D. CUNNINGHAM, of Kentucky. — Expressing the duty of all patriots to lay aside personal and party preferences at this time, and combine to defeat tyranny, usurpation and misrule, and preserve the existence of a free nation.

By the ALABAMA DELEGATION. — Desiring the restoration of the Constitution and of equal rights to every State and citizen ; and to that end accepting the nomination of Greeley and Brown, and endorsing the Cincinnati platform as restated in Mr. Greeley's letter of acceptance.

*Report of the Committee on Credentials.*

Hon. D. D. DYKEMAN, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials. — The Committee on Credentials is now ready to report.

The Secretary then read the report as follows : —

**TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE ASSEMBLED :**  
— Your Committee on Credentials do respectfully report that on a call of the States they all report their delegations full, with no contested seats; that the total number of delegates entitled to seats in the Convention is 732; that Texas reported twenty delegates, and your committee recommend that they be allowed seats on the floor, but only to cast the eight votes to which she is entitled.

Your committee further recommend that the delegates present from the several Territories be entitled to seats on the floor of the Convention, without any vote.

Your committee, through their Secretary, herewith transmit to the Convention, an accurate and corrected list of the delegates from the several States of the Union.

All of which is now respectfully submitted.

D. D. DYKEMAN,  
*Chairman.*

*List of Delegates to the Convention.*

## ALABAMA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William M. Byrd,	Eli S. Shorter,
Levi W. Lawler,	J. B. Clark,
Thomas A. Walker,	F. W. Sykes,
Jones M. Withers,	Peter M. Dox.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — C. L. Scott,	J. W. Posey.
<i>Second</i> " A. C. Gordon,	Albert Strassburger.
<i>Third</i> " Daniel Crawford,	A. N. Worthy.
<i>Fourth</i> " Allen C. Jones,	L. M. Stone.
<i>Fifth</i> " S. D. Cabiniss,	Thomas B. Cooper.
<i>Sixth</i> " Alberto Martin,	Robert McFarland.

## ARKANSAS.

This list cannot be verified, on account of failure of response to several letters of inquiry.

## CALIFORNIA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

J. G. Downey,	William M. Gwin,
Eugene Casserley,	James H. Hardy.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	Workman,	McDowell Venable.
<i>Second</i> “	Samuel F. Butterworth,	George D. Roberts.
<i>Third</i> “	W. F. Goad,	J. C. Wolfskill.
<i>Fourth</i> “	Frank McCoppin,	Henry George.

## CONNECTICUT.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

A. E. Burr,	William H. Barnum,
Charles R. Ingersoll,	Daniel A. Daniels.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	Nathaniel B. Stevens,	John S. Dobson.
<i>Second</i> “	James Gallagher,	Charles Hubbard,
<i>Third</i> “	Seth S. Logan,	F. A. Marden,
<i>Fourth</i> “	James B. Coit,	John L. Hunter.

## DELAWARE.

Thomas F. Bayard,	Benjamin T. Biggs,
Gove Saulsbury,	James Williams,
John H. Paynter,	Edward L. Martin.

## FLORIDA.

S. L. Niblack,	W. D. Barnes,
Thomas Randall,	C. H. Smith,
C. H. Jones,	W. Call,
J. A. Henderson,	William Curry.

## GEORGIA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

• H. L. Benning,	A. R. Wright,
• Thomas Hardeman,	Julian Hartridge,
• A. H. Colquitt,	John B. Gordon,
• C. T. Goode,	I. W. Avery.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	George R. Black,	W. B. Mitchell.
<i>Second</i> “	Willis A. Hawkins,	C. C. Kibbee.
<i>Third</i> “	W. Y. Hudson,	R. D. Spalding.
<i>Fourth</i> “	J. M. Gray,	M. T. Doyal.
<i>Fifth</i> “	E. H. Pottle,	E. M. Rucker.
<i>Sixth</i> “	J. H. Christy,	J. E. Redwine.
<i>Seventh</i> “	David Irwin,	M. A. Candler.

## ILLINOIS.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

W. F. Coolbaugh,	J. J. Philips,
Aaron K. Shaw,	A. M. Craig.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	M. W. Fuller,	St. Clair Sutherland.
<i>Second</i> "	W. B. Snowhook,	M. F. Tulley.
<i>Third</i> "	Henry T. Helm,	Obadiah Jackson.
<i>Fourth</i> "	Richard Bishop,	R. Hopkins.
<i>Fifth</i> "	W. H. Mitchell,	A. R. McCoy.
<i>Sixth</i> "	John Dickson,	James E. Echols.
<i>Seventh</i> "	S. W. Brown,	S. Ott.
<i>Eighth</i> "	N. C. Ferrell,	Henry C. Dent.
<i>Ninth</i> "	S. P. Shope,	W. W. Obrier.
<i>Tenth</i> "	J. R. Neil,	J. B. Patterson.
<i>Eleventh</i> "	H. C. Withers,	Bernard Arutzen.
<i>Twelfth</i> "	J. A. McClelland,	T. W. McNeely.
<i>Thirteenth</i> "	A. M. Miller,	S. S. Parks.
<i>Fourteenth</i> "	J. B. Smith,	John Pierson.
<i>Fifteenth</i> "	W. M. Garrard,	H. B. Decius.
<i>Sixteenth</i> "	C. D. Hoiles,	J. J. McCauley.
<i>Seventeenth</i> "	Milton McClure,	S. A. Buckmaster.
<i>Eighteenth</i> "	J. H. Oberly,	J. F. Bouton.
<i>Nineteenth</i> "	Charles Carroll,	R. W. Townsend.

Illinois and Massachusetts delegations cannot be verified for the same reason given in the case of Arkansas.

## INDIANA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Martin M. Ray,	James D. Williams,
Robert Lowry,	Bayless W. Hanna,
D. D. Dykeman,	G. W. McConnell,
Levi Sparks,	Horace Corbin.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	A. T. Whittlesey,	Michael Murphy.
<i>Second</i> "	Augustus Bradley,	Clement Doane.
<i>Third</i> "	H. W. Harrington,	R. D. Slater, Jr.
<i>Fourth</i> "	Alonzo Blair,	W. H. Beck.
<i>Fifth</i> "	Benjamin E. Shaw,	Thomas W. Woolen.
<i>Sixth</i> "	Thomas Dowling,	James W. Cookerly.
<i>Seventh</i> "	John B. Ruger,	Leander McClurg.
<i>Eighth</i> "	George D. Tate,	William Steele, Jr.

<i>Ninth District.</i> —W. Taughenbaugh,	S. Thanhauser.
<i>Tenth</i> “ J. A. S. Mitchell,	J. R. Lanning.
<i>Eleventh</i> “ L. I Ham,	F. B. Thomas.

## IOWA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Charles Mason,	M. M. Ham,
John F. Duncombe,	John P. Irish.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —Charles I. Barker,	Edward Campbell.
<i>Second</i> “ H. M. Martin,	L. N. Stuart.
<i>Third</i> “ S. H. Kinne,	John H. Peters.
<i>Fourth</i> “ J. D. Thompson,	G. C. Wright.
<i>Fifth</i> “ N. B. Holbrook,	A. C. Sherwood.
<i>Sixth</i> “ J. B. Atherton,	S. B. Evans.
<i>Seventh</i> “ J. E. Williamson,	C. W. Perry.
<i>Eighth</i> “ B. F. Montgomery,	N. C. Ridenour.
<i>Ninth</i> “ John P. Allison,	C. C. Smeltzer.

## KANSAS.

Thomas P. Fenlon,	George B. Wood,
John Martin,	Richard B. Morris,
William R. Wagstaff,	T. W. Waterson,
Isaac Sharp,	P. T. Pendleton,
E. M. Hulett,	J. J. Brown.

## KENTUCKY.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Beriah Magoffin,	Henry D. McHenry,
George P. Doern,	Robert Simmons.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —T. C. Dabney,	J. C. Gilbert.
<i>Second</i> “ Charles Eaves,	Polk Laffon.
<i>Third</i> “ George T. Edwards,	James M. Hines.
<i>Fourth</i> “ W. F. Bell,	W. O. Cunningham.
<i>Fifth</i> “ W. L. Jackson,	Robert Mallory.
<i>Sixth</i> “ George T. Perkins,	W. W. Cleary.
<i>Seventh</i> “ Benjamin F. Buckner,	J. D. Lillard.
<i>Eighth</i> “ J. H. Bruce,	T. C. Bell.
<i>Ninth</i> “ John S. Williams,	J. Deshman.
<i>Tenth</i> “ K. F. Pritchard,	A. E. Cole.

## LOUISIANA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

H. D. Ogden,	H. F. Sturcken.
John M. Sandidge,	Emile Rost.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — Daniel Edwards,	B. F. Taylor.
<i>Second</i> " Given Campbell,	Andrew McCullon.
<i>Third</i> " Charles McVea,	J. A. Taylor.
<i>Fourth</i> " W. B. Egan,	William Levy.
<i>Fifth</i> " Robert Richardson	H. R. Lucas.

## MAINE.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Eben F. Pillsbury,	E. K. O'Brien,
T. W. Hubbard,	W. H. McCrillis.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — James M. Churchill,	William Emery.
<i>Second</i> " S. C. Andrews,	F. B. Torrey.
<i>Third</i> " Albert Moore,	S. R. Tibbitts.
<i>Fourth</i> " James C. Madigan,	W. T. Pearson.
<i>Fifth</i> " Jonathan White,	C. C. Roberts.

## MARYLAND.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Montgomery Blair,	Robert Fowler,
A. Leo Knott,	Philip F. Thomas.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — Jesse K. Hines,	Washington Findley.
<i>Second</i> " James B. Boyle,	Thomas H. Moore.
<i>Third</i> " John F. Hunter,	W. H. Jillard.
<i>Fourth</i> " Robert T. Banks,	Harry Gilmore.
<i>Fifth</i> " Elijah J. Henkle,	John Lee Carroll.
<i>Sixth</i> " John W. Baughman,	George Treaner.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Charles C. Green,	George W. Gill,
George M. Stearns,	Joseph G. Abbott.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — George Delano,	Nicholas Hathaway.
<i>Second</i> " Charles Albro,	Henry Hobart.
<i>Third</i> " George B. Nichols,	Michael Doherty.
<i>Fourth</i> " Leopold Morse,	Oliver Stevens.

<i>Fifth District.</i>	— Charles P. Thompson,	C. O. Morse.
<i>Sixth</i>	“ E. M. Skillings,	E. A. Ingalls.
<i>Seventh</i>	“ E. W. Colcord,	Joseph R. Hayes.
<i>Eighth</i>	“ D. D. Brodhead,	D. A. Buckley.
<i>Ninth</i>	“ W. A. Williams,	Jeremiah Gatchell.
<i>Tenth</i>	“ H. C. Hill,	R. C. Crafts.

## MICHIGAN.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William A. Moore,	Fidas Livermore,
Edwin H. Lothrop,	J. G. Sutherland.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i>	— Thomas D. Hawley,	James D. Weir.
<i>Second</i>	“ George H. Bruce,	John J. Robinson.
<i>Third</i>	“ Isaac M. Crane,	Edward Cox.
<i>Fourth</i>	“ Emory O. Briggs,	R. S. Hastings.
<i>Fifth</i>	“ Augustus S. Butler,	Manly D. Howard.
<i>Sixth</i>	“ Henry M. Look,	Washington G. Wiley.
<i>Seventh</i>	“ O'Brien J. Atkinson,	William W. Stickney.
<i>Eighth</i>	“ D. C. Moore,	George W. Lord.
<i>Ninth</i>	“ A. P. Swineford,	G. W. Robinson.

## MINNESOTA.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i>	— C. H. Berry,	J. C. Wise,
“ “	L. L. Peck.	
<i>Second</i>	“ George E. Skinner,	W. W. Phelps,
“ “	Henry Weyhe.	
<i>Third</i>	“ William Lochren,	William Lee,
“ “	J. J. Egan,	George Mitsch.

## MISSISSIPPI.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John W. C. Watson,	E. Barksdale,
J. H. Sharp,	A. G. Horn.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i>	— C. B. Mitchell,	J. M. Allen.
<i>Second</i>	“ H. H. Chalmers,	H. D. Money.
<i>Third</i>	“ E. O. Sykes,	J. B. Dunn.
<i>Fourth</i>	“ B. J. Semmes,	W. D. Gibbs.
<i>Fifth</i>	“ A. J. Frantz,	H. M. Young.
<i>Sixth</i>	“ Roderick Seal,	M. V. B. Hubb.

## MISSOURI.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

George C. Vest,	William Hyde,
D. H. Armstrong,	William H. Phelps,
C. J. Nesbitt,	A. W. Lamb.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — John D. Finney,	H. C. Brokmeyer.
<i>Second</i> " John G. Priest,	John J. Fallon.
<i>Third</i> " W. L. Hite,	R. B. Wade.
<i>Fourth</i> " W. H. McCown,	R. L. McIlhenny.
<i>Fifth</i> " J. L. Smith,	D. C. Stone.
<i>Sixth</i> " George C. Bingham,	James Shields.
<i>Seventh</i> " D. J. Heaston,	A. P. Morehouse
<i>Eighth</i> " J. S. Thompson,	W. C. B. Gillespie.
<i>Ninth</i> " W. F. Switzler,	William Newland.

## NEBRASKA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

George L. Miller,	John Black,
James C. Crawford,	W. A. Coleman,
E. W. Thomas,	W. H. Platt.

## NEVADA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Thomas H. Williams,	S. B. Wyman.
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## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — Frank Jones,	David M. Clough.
<i>Second</i> " G. W. M. Pitman,	William Rand.
<i>Third</i> " M. V. B. Edgerly,	Alvah W. Sulloney.
<i>Fourth</i> " Charles G. Chandler,	George E. Dame.
<i>Fifth</i> " Harry Bingham,	George F. Putman.

## NEW JERSEY.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Theodore P. Randolph,	Charles Haight.
John P. Stockton,	Leon Abbott.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — A. H. Slape,	William H. Gwynne.
<i>Second</i> " John Russell,	Emanuel Wilks.
<i>Third</i> " A. K. Cogswell,	A. H. Patterson.
<i>Fourth</i> " Caleb H. Valentine,	John N. Voorhees.
<i>Fifth</i> " A. A. Hardenburg,	David Henry.
<i>Sixth</i> " W. N. Truesdell,	Joel N. Mead.
<i>Seventh</i> " W. B. Rankin,	A. O. Evans.

## NEW YORK.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John T. Hoffman,	Delos DeWolf,
Henry W. Slocum,	Jarvis Lord.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First</i>	<i>District.</i> — Robert Christie,	James M. Oakley.
<i>Second</i>	" Thomas Kinsella,	Wm. W. Moseley.
<i>Third</i>	" William A. Fowler,	William C. DeWitt.
<i>Fourth</i>	" Calvin E. Pratt,	Stephen J. Colohan.
<i>Fifth</i>	" John Fox,	Nelson W. Young.
<i>Sixth</i>	" James Brooks,	Henry Woltman.
<i>Seventh</i>	" A. J. Eickoff,	John Scott.
<i>Eighth</i>	" Samuel S. Cox,	James S. Thayer.
<i>Ninth</i>	" Oliver Charlick,	John S. Masterton.
<i>Tenth</i>	" Wm. C. Connor,	Matthew T. Brennan.
<i>Eleventh</i>	" Clarkson N. Potter,	Calvin Frost.
<i>Twelfth</i>	" Charles F. Brown,	James L. LaMoree.
<i>Thirteenth</i>	" Homer A. Nelson,	Robert F. Andrews.
<i>Fourteenth</i>	" Joseph H. Tuthill,	Jacob H. Meech.
<i>Fifteenth</i>	" William Cassidy,	A. A. Hunt.
<i>Sixteenth</i>	" John H. Colby,	George Northrop.
<i>Seventeenth</i>	" John Keenan,	Artemas B. Waldo.
<i>Eighteenth</i>	" Charles Anthony,	William P. Cantwell.
<i>Nineteenth</i>	" George W. Chapman,	McIntyre Frazer.
<i>Twenty-first</i>	" William W. Gordon,	Walter A. Cook.
<i>Twenty-second</i>	" Levi H. Brown,	DeWitt C. West.
<i>Twenty-third</i>	" Calvert Comstock	J. Thomas Spriggs.
<i>Twenty-fourth</i>	" Willard Johnson,	N. Wilson Parker.
<i>Twenty-fifth</i>	" William C. Ruger,	Milton H. Northrup.
<i>Twenty-sixth</i>	" D. B. McNeil,	Henry Stowell.
<i>Twenty-seventh</i>	" Lester B. Faulkner,	Samuel S. Ellsworth.
<i>Twenty-eighth</i>	" George J. Magee,	John S. Wells.
<i>Twenty-ninth</i>	" George B. Bradley,	Erastus P. Hart.
<i>Thirtieth</i>	" Wm. H. Bowman,	John W. Graves.
<i>Thirty-first</i>	" Henry A. Richmond,	Elton T. Ransom.
<i>Thirty-second</i>	" William Williams,	George W. Cothran.
	" Charles H. Lee,	James Cotter.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William Purcell,	Joseph Warren.
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## NORTH CAROLINA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John Manning, Jr.	Henry G. Williams,
A. M. Scales,	Joseph A. Engelhard.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i>	— Henry A. Gilliam,	J. L. Mitchell.
<i>Second</i> “	C. J. Gee,	Thomas S. Keenan.
<i>Third</i> “	E. D. Hall,	H. B. Short.
<i>Fourth</i> “	D. M. Barringer,	John H. Kirkland.
<i>Fifth</i> “	J. M. Worth,	John B. Gretter.
<i>Sixth</i> “	Zebulon B. Vance,	Paul B. Means.
<i>Seventh</i> “	R. F. Armfield,	G. M. Mathes.
<i>Eighth</i> “	Thomas L. Clingman,	A. M. Erwin.

## OHIO.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

John A. McMahon,	Henry B. Payne,
Chilton A. White,	M. A. Daugherty.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i>	— Alfred Gaither,	Thomas J. Quinn.
<i>Second</i> “	Thomas E. Snellbaker,	A. B. Champion.
<i>Third</i> “	Job E. Owens,	Henry Hanna.
<i>Fourth</i> “	David A. Houk,	William J. Alexander.
<i>Fifth</i> “	A. V. Rice,	George W. Andrews.
<i>Sixth</i> “	E. S. Dodd,	James G. Haley.
<i>Seventh</i> “	J. M. Trimble,	J. W. Shinn.
<i>Eighth</i> “	J. Frank McKinney,	John H. Blose.
<i>Ninth</i> “	A. S. Ramsey,	Joseph Watson.
<i>Tenth</i> “	William Mungen,	F. Wilmer.
<i>Eleventh</i> “	Oscar F. Moore,	John L. Vance.
<i>Twelfth</i> “	John G. Thompson,	Newton Schleich.
<i>Thirteenth</i> “	William H. Ball,	George B. Smythe.
<i>Fourteenth</i> “	Daniel S. Uhl,	Thomas Coughlin.
<i>Fifteenth</i> “	Wylie H. Oldham,	Henry R. West.
<i>Sixteenth</i> “	John H. Heaton,	George W. McCook.
<i>Seventeenth</i> “	John Clark,	John J. Warwick.
<i>Eighteenth</i> “	H. T. Hahn,	John Zimmerman.
<i>Nineteenth</i> “	W. A. Baker,	J. H. Angiser.
<i>Twentieth</i> “	J. N. Coffinberry,	Fred W. Green.

## OREGON.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

A. Bush,	J. W. Virtue,
J. T. Glenn,	O. S. Savage,
Al Zeiber,	E. F. Colby.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William A. Wallace,	George W. Cass,
Samuel J. Randall,	Phillip Collins,
L. A. Mackey,	H. D. Smith,
C. W. Carrigan,	B. M. Boyer,
S. B. Wilson,	J. H. Brinton.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First</i>	<i>District.</i> — William McMullen,	Samuel Josephs.
<i>Second</i>	" William M. Reilly,	Thomas D. Pierce.
<i>Third</i>	" J. L. Ladner,	Daniel M. Fox.
<i>Fourth</i>	" Isaac Leech,	John Campbell.
<i>Fifth</i>	" Lewis C. Cassiday,	Harman Yerkes.
<i>Sixth</i>	" Ephraim J. Acker,	Edward J. Albright.
<i>Seventh</i>	" Robert E. Monaghan,	George H. Armstrong.
<i>Eighth</i>	" J. L. Getz,	B. F. Boyer.
<i>Ninth</i>	" Henry Carpenter,	Robert Crane.
<i>Tenth</i>	" William M. Randall,	C. D. Gloniger.
<i>Eleventh</i>	" Isaac S. Case,	Charles Kleinz.
<i>Twelfth</i>	" C. L. Lamberton,	Asa R. Brundage.
<i>Thirteenth</i>	" V. E. Piolett,	William M. Peltz.
<i>Fourteenth</i>	" Jacob Leisenring,	W. K. Wilson.
<i>Fifteenth</i>	" John Creswell,	Isaiah R. Dunbar.
<i>Sixteenth</i>	" Augustus Duncas,	A. H. Coffroth.
<i>Seventeenth</i>	" James Burns,	R. Milton Speer.
<i>Eighteenth</i>	" Edward Perks,	M. F. Elliot.
<i>Nineteenth</i>	" D. W. Hutchinson,	Herman Kretz.
<i>Twentieth</i>	" P. J. Pierce,	William Hasson.
<i>Twenty-First</i>	" William H. Playford,	John Latta.
<i>Twenty-Second</i>	" James P. Barr,	John H. Bailey.
<i>Twenty-Third</i>	" David Campbell,	P. H. Winston.
<i>Twenty-Fourth</i>	" J. A. J. Buchanan,	D. J. Morris.

## RHODE ISLAND.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Amasa Sprague,	Nicholas Van Slycke,
Nathan Gould,	William J. Miller.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>Eastern District.</i> — William B. Beach,	Lyman Pierce.
<i>Western</i> " Thomas A. Reynolds,	Elisha C. Clark.

*OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE*

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

William Aiken,	William D. Porter,
James F. Islar,	Simeon Fair,
James Chestnut,	W. H. Wallace.
T. B. Frazer,	

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	John B. Moore,	F. F. Warley,
" "	Henry McIver,	William Connors.
<i>Second</i> "	Thomas Y. Simons,	M. P. O'Conor,
" "	S. S. Solomons.	
<i>Third</i> "	J. S. Cothran,	J. P. Adams.
" "	H. A. Meetze,	A. D. Frederick.
<i>Fourth</i> "	E. C. McClure,	T. W. Woodward.

Six delegates in excess. All properly accredited, through but 14 votes cast in Convention.

## TENNESSEE.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Neil S. Brown,	Charles M. McGhee,
John H. Savage,	M. Magiveny,
Duncan K. McRae,	George W. White.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	John A. McKinney,	Thomas B. Kirby.
<i>Second</i> "	W. W. Ferguson,	D. A. Carpenter.
<i>Third</i> "	Thomas Crutchfield.	W. J. Clift.
<i>Fourth</i> "	J. W. Burton,	H. L. Davidson.
<i>Fifth</i> "	Edward S. Cheatham,	John C. Burch.
<i>Sixth</i> "	D. L. Dunnington,	A. B. Martin.
<i>Seventh</i> "	B. A. Enloe,	A. R. Lankford.
<i>Eighth</i> "	J. M. Coulter,	Charles N. Gibbs.
<i>Ninth</i> "	M. C. Galloway	Enoch Ensley.

## TEXAS.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

J. W. Henderson,	John H. Reagan,
Washington Jones,	Charles D. Morse.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	G. W. Bryan,	J. H. Turner,
" "	R. S. Walker,	W. H. Tucker.
<i>Second</i> "	J. L. Kamp,	M. D. K. Taylor,
" "	C. W. Geers,	E. T. Broughton.
<i>Third</i> "	B. H. Bassett,	Ashbel Smith,
" "	J. W. Downs,	George Quinan.
<i>Fourth</i> "	George W. Smith,	D. J. Logan,
" "	F. S. Stockdale,	J. S. Ford.

## VERMONT.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

H. B. Smith,	George H. Weeks,
W. F. Horrobin,	Homer W. Heaton.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	Charles J. Soper,	Lucius Robinson.
<i>Second</i> "	James H. Williams,	Thomas Keefe.
<i>Third</i> "	B. B. Smalley,	George W. Aiken.

## VIRGINIA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Thomas S. Bocock,	John L. Mooye,
<u>Robert Ould,</u>	John B. Baldwin.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> —	Fitzhugh Lee,	John Neeley.
<i>Second</i> "	Charles K. Mallory,	V. D. Groner.
<i>Third</i> "	Bradley F. Johnson,	D. C. DeJarnette.
<i>Fourth</i> "	W. R. Berkerley,	W. E. Cameron.
<i>Fifth</i> "	George W. Booker,	A. W. C. Nowlin.
<i>Sixth</i> "	H. H. Robinson,	W. W. Berry.
<i>Seventh</i> "	S. H. Moffatt,	Thos. Jefferson Randolph.
<i>Eighth</i> "	Nathan Harrison,	Giles Cook.
<i>Ninth</i> "	John A. McCaul,	John H. Smith.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

Allen T. Caperton,	Henry G. Davis,
Henry Brannon,	Benjamin Wilson.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — William M. Clemins,	Alexander Campbell.
<i>Second</i> " William P. Willey,	B. F. Martin.
<i>Third</i> " G. W. Imboden,	Philip Snyder.

## WISCONSIN.

## DELEGATES AT LARGE.

James R. Doolittle,	Gabriel Bouck,
Edward S. Bragg,	John Lawlor.

## DISTRICT DELEGATES.

<i>First District.</i> — D. W. Small.	John Hackett.
<i>Second</i> " George W. Bird,	A. G. Cook.
<i>Third</i> " H. H. Gray,	Nelson Dewey.
<i>Fourth</i> " George H. Paul,	B. S. Weil.
<i>Fifth</i> " E. C. Lewis,	Joseph Vilas.
<i>Sixth</i> " C. A. Weisbrod,	Joseph P. Hume.
<i>Seventh</i> " L. P. Weatherby,	Theodore Rodoef.
<i>Eighth</i> " W. F. Galloway,	S. A. Pease.

Mr. W. B. RANKIN, of New Jersey. — I move that the Convention adjourn until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. VAN SLYCK, of Rhode Island. — I move to amend by substituting 10 o'clock as the hour of meeting.

The PRESIDENT. — I desire to make a suggestion to the gentleman from New Jersey before putting his motion. It is desirable that the National Committee should be appointed before we adjourn, so that they can meet during the recess. Will the gentleman waive his motion for that purpose?

Gov. HOFFMAN, of New York. — In regard to that suggestion I desire simply to say that New York cannot name its member before the Convention adjourns.

The PRESIDENT. — Therefore the question occurs on the motion to adjourn.

The question being put, it was decided in the negative.

Gov. HOFFMAN. — I move that when this Convention adjourns, it be to meet to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

Mr. HUNTER, of Connecticut, and others seconded the motion, which was adopted.

Mr. S. S. COX, of New York. — I move that we now adjourn.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. GALLAGHER, of Connecticut. — Mr. Chairman, I move that a committee of one member from each State, to be named by the delegation of each

State, be selected as a National Committee. I have great respect for my friend from New York (Gov. Hoffman), but his committee-man can be named to-morrow morning if it is not convenient for New York to name him to-night. But it is desired by a number of gentlemen here that this National Committee be appointed as early as possible, in order that they may have an opportunity to consult together how to carry on the campaign properly.

The PRESIDENT.—The proposition of the gentleman from Connecticut is, that the Convention proceed to nominate a National Committee, of one member from each State, to be named by the delegates as the States shall be called in alphabetical order.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT.—The Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

Gov. HOFFMAN, of New York.—The New York delegation ask leave to retire in the hope that they may be able to name their member at this time.

Leave was granted.

Leave was also granted to the Maryland, Alabama and Georgia delegations to retire for consultation.

The calling of the roll was proceeded with, and the retiring delegations having returned, during the call, the members of the National Committee were named as follows:—

#### *The National Committee.*

- Alabama*—Thos. A. Walker, Jacksonville.  
*Arkansas*—S. R. Crockrell, Pine Bluff.  
*California*—Frank McCoppin, San Francisco.  
*Connecticut*—Wm. H. Barnum, Line Rock.  
*Delaware*—Charles Beasten, Odessa.  
*Florida*—Charles E. Dyke, Tallahassee.  
*Georgia*—A. R. Wright, Augusta.  
*Illinois*—Cyrus H. McCormick, Chicago.  
*Indiana*—Thos. Dowling, Terre Haute.  
*Iowa*—M. M. Ham, Dubuque.  
*Kansas*—Isaac E. Eaton, Leavenworth.  
*Kentucky*—Henry D. McHenry, Hartford.  
*Louisiana*—Henry D. Ogden, New Orleans.  
*Maine*—L. D. M. Sweat, Portland.  
*Maryland*—A. Leo Knott, Baltimore.  
*Massachusetts*—Fred. O. Prince, Boston.  
*Michigan*—Wm. A. Moore, Detroit.  
*Minnesota*—Wm. Lochren, Minneapolis.  
*Mississippi*—J. H. Sharp, Columbus.  
*Missouri*—Jno. G. Priest, St. Louis.

*Nebraska* — Geo. L. Miller, Omaha.  
*Nevada* — Thos. H. Williams, Virginia City.  
*New Hampshire* — M. V. B. Edgerly, Manchester.  
*New Jersey* — Theo. F. Randolph, Morristown.  
*New York* — Augustus Schell, New York City.  
*North Carolina* — M. W. Ransom, Weldon.  
*Ohio* — J. G. Thompson, Columbus.  
*Oregon* — Robert J. Ladd, Portland.  
*Pennsylvania* — James P. Barr, Pittsburg.  
*Rhode Island* — Gideon Bradford, Providence.  
*South Carolina* — Thos. Y. Simons, Charleston.  
*Tennessee* — Wm. T. Bate, Nashville.  
*Texas* — F. S. Stockdale, Indianola.  
*Vermont* — H. B. Smith, Milton.  
*Virginia* — John Goode, Jr., Norfolk.  
*West Virginia* — John Blair Hoge, Martinsburg.  
*Wisconsin* — Geo. H. Paul, Milwaukee.

When New York was called Gov. Hoffman arose and said:—

Mr. Belmont having presented to the New York delegation a letter declining a reappointment upon the National Committee, the delegation with entire unanimity presents the name of Mr. Augustus Schell.

Mr. COLOHAN, of New York. — Mr. President, I move that the Convention now proceed to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

The motion was seconded, but pending its consideration Mr. RAY, of Indiana, moved to adjourn.

The PRESIDENT. — Before putting that motion, I desire to state that the Committee on Resolutions will meet at the rooms of the New York delegation, at the Carrollton house, this evening. The National Committee will also meet in this building at 8 o'clock this evening.

Mr. HATHAWAY, of Massachusetts. — In order to expedite business, I move that the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to report to this Convention immediately after the hour of assembling to-morrow morning.

The motion was declared by the President to be out of order pending the motion to adjourn heretofore made by Mr. Ray, of Indiana, and at 5.55 P. M., on the said motion, the Convention adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock A. M. to-morrow, July 10th.

#### SECOND DAY.

July 10th, 1872.

At 10 o'clock A. M. the Convention, pursuant to adjournment, reassembled at Ford's Opera House.

The President, Hon. Jas. R. DOOLITTLE, called the Convention to order and introduced the Rev. Dr. LEBURN, of Baltimore, who offered the following

**PRAYER.**

Almighty, and most merciful God, Thou art the God of nations as well as of individuals; Thou art a God who rulest among the armies of Heaven as among the inhabitants of the earth, and we desire to feel this day when we come into Thy presence that promotion cometh neither from the North, nor from the South, nor from the East, nor from the West; but that God alone raiseth up one and casteth down another. We would recognize in Thee the God of prosperity, the God of advancement, the God of wisdom, the God of success in all our undertakings and enterprises, and we desire to rejoice that Thou hast given us so much encouragement to expect Thy favoring Providence in the future as we have received it in the past. It has pleased Thee to give us our heritage in a broad and goodly land. It has pleased Thee to give us our existence in an epoch of the world's history that is full of promise and full of resources for a vast and glorious future. And, Almighty God, as we are assembled here to-day, representatives from all parts of this great nation, we desire to ask of Thee that wisdom which is requisite and necessary in the present exigency. We pray that Thy servant who presides over this Convention may have guidance from on High, in order that he may rightly administer his position. We pray that in all the efforts that are made here this day, in all the speaking, and in all the devices and designs that are entered upon here, there may be given such unanimity and such wisdom of counsel as that they shall issue in a decision that shall be for the best interests of this great republic.

Almighty God, we pray that harmony may not only prevail in these counsels, but that harmony may be thereby diffused over all this land, and that from this day forth we may enter upon a new and a happier and better epoch, even, than those that have passed into the history of the land — that there may be no North, no South, no East, no West, but that all gathered together in one common brotherhood, in one noble manhood, we may be permitted to enjoy ourselves, and to perpetuate for our posterity these glorious institutions which Thou has conferred upon us as our noble heritage; all of which we ask only through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

The PRESIDENT.—For the convenience of the members of the Convention as well as of the reporters of the Associated Press and others, the Chair requests that any gentleman rising to make a motion, or to address the Convention, shall distinctly state his name. There are two or three motions in the nature of questions of privilege, to which the attention of the Chair has been called. The Chair recognizes first the gentleman from Arkansas, Gen. Cabell.

Gen. CABELL of Ark.—Our State has sent here several delegates more

than are entitled to seats, and we ask that the courtesy of the Convention be extended to these delegates so as to allow them positions on the floor. They have come a long distance, from where there are few railroads and few telegraphs, and until Mr. Greeley is elected we shall not have any more. (Applause.) There are five of these delegates whose names I send to the Clerk. I move that they be admitted to the floor.

The motion was agreed to, and under its operation Col. R. J. W. Johnson, Col. P. Dunn, J. W. Clopton, H. C. Righter and George H. Goddard were allowed the privilege of the floor.

#### *The Platform.*

Mr. A. E. BURR, of Connecticut, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented their report, and asked the Clerk to read, in the first place, its introductory paragraph.

The Clerk read as follows:—

The Committee on Resolutions submit the following report:—

We, the Democratic Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, do present the following principles, already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just government. (Long-continued applause.)

Mr. BURR.—In order that there may be no misapprehension in regard to the platform, I now ask the Clerk to read the resolutions in full.

The Clerk then read the resolutions adopted by the Cincinnati Convention of Liberal Republicans, as follows:—

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religion or politics.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these States, emancipation and enfranchisement; and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of person under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State, self-government; and for the Nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The Civil Service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and it breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of Republican Government.

6. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the Civil Service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station shall become again a place of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

7. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate annual reduction of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional Districts, and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.

8. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

9. A speedy return to specie payments is demanded alike of the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

10. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism.

11. We are opposed to all further grants of land to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

12. We hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendship of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right, or submit to what is wrong.

13. For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this Convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens without regard to previous political affiliations.

The reading of the above was frequently interrupted by applause.

**Mr. BURR.** — Mr. Chairman, these resolutions embrace the Cincinnati platform word for word, — nothing taken from it, — nothing added except the short preamble. The resolutions, sir, were adopted by every State in this

Union, except four, namely: Delaware, Mississippi, Georgia and Oregon. Having been adopted in committee with that unusual degree of unanimity, I move the adoption of the resolutions as a whole by the Convention, — and on that motion, sir, I move the previous question.

The PRESIDENT. — The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. Burr, reports a platform, and moves its adoption, and on that motion he asks the previous question.

Senator BAYARD, of Delaware. — I rise to a question of order. Has the previous question, another name for gag-law, become the law of a Democratic Convention?

Loud cries of "No," cheers and hisses.

The PRESIDENT. — The Chair overrules the question of order. The pending motion is not debatable; but the Chair deems it proper to state that the Convention adopted by unanimous vote as the rules to govern its proceedings the rules of the House of Representatives, the motion for the previous question being one of those rules which are essential to the transaction of business in large bodies of men.

Senator BAYARD. — I ask that the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions withdraw his call for a period of at least ten minutes, that the minority — (Cries of "No," "Yes," and much confusion.)

The PRESIDENT. — The appeal is made by the gentleman from Delaware to the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and not by anybody else.

Mr. BAILEY, of Pennsylvania. — I second the appeal on behalf of the delegation from Pennsylvania.

Cries of "Question! question!"

Mr. BURR. — I would concede what the gentleman asks, with the greatest pleasure, but I am under instructions from the committee, and cannot yield the point, and must insist upon the motion I make.

SENATOR. — I wish to appeal to the self-respect, I wish to appeal to the sense of the Democratic party. Are you deaf to the voice of reason? (Confusion.)

The PRESIDENT. — The gentleman from Delaware will come to order.

Hon. G. SAULSBURY, of Delaware. — I say this is unfair; it is unjust to the Democracy of the country.

The PRESIDENT. — The question is, will the house sustain the previous question?

Cries of "Yes" and "No."

A DELEGATE. — I ask for a call of the roll of States.

The PRESIDENT. — The Secretary will call the roll.

The roll of the States was then called with the following result: —

Alabama, 10 ayes and 10 nays; Arkansas, 12 ayes; California, 11 ayes and 1 nay; Connecticut, 12 ayes. [When Delaware was called, Mr. Saulsbury said, "We vote, no sir, — now and forever."] Delaware, 6 nays; Florida, 6 ayes and 2 nays; Georgia, 1 aye and 21 nays; Illinois, 42 ayes; Indiana, 30 ayes; Iowa, 22 ayes; Kansas, 10 ayes; Kentucky, 24 ayes; Louisianna, 6 ayes and 10 nays; Maine, 14 ayes; Maryland, 14 ayes and 2 nays; Massachusetts, 26 ayes; Michigan, 22 ayes; Minnesota, 10 ayes; Mississippi, 16 nays; Missouri, 26 ayes and 4 nays; Nebraska, 6 ayes; Nevada, 6 nays; New Hampshire, 10 ayes; New Jersey, 18 nays; New York, 70 ayes.

On New York being called, Governor Hoffman said, "New York votes aye, but not as a unit; several of the delegation vote nay, and I am one of them."

The PRESIDENT. — The Chair has received a statement from one of the delegations in the house, stating that in consequence of some noise or disorder they do not understand the question which is now before the house; therefore the Chair interrupts so far as to state what the pending question is. It is whether the previous question shall be sustained, and the effect of it is this: — If the house vote to sustain the previous question, then the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions has one hour in which he can debate the question, or allow other gentlemen to debate the question; to confine absolutely debate upon any one proposition to one hour; but the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions has the right to address the Convention, and he can yield to other gentlemen who may desire to speak for a very brief period. The question now is whether the previous question shall be sustained, and therefore limit any debate which may occur to one hour. The call will proceed.

Mr. BAILEY, of Pennsylvania. — I wish to put the question whether, if the previous question be sustained, there will be any opportunity of moving an amendment to the resolution.

The PRESIDENT. — There will not be.

Governor HOFFMAN. — After the explanation made by the President New York votes aye. (Applause.)

DAVID S. HOUCK, of Ohio. — Suppose on the call of the States the Convention do not sustain the previous question, will the debate upon the resolutions be confined to an hour?

The PRESIDENT. — Unless this vote is sustained the debate is unlimited.

Mr. HOUCK. — I trust this Convention will not sustain the previous question. (Cries of "Order! order!")

The PRESIDENT. — The gentleman is not in order. He rose to ask a question, but he has no right to go on with debate.

Mr. HOUCK. — Let me ask another question. I ask whether it will not be in order to suspend the roll call and confine the debate to one hour?

**Mr. PRESIDENT.** — No motion is in order pending a call of the roll.

The roll-call was then resumed as follows: —

North Carolina, 20 ayes; Ohio, 44 ayes; Oregon, 6 nays; Pennsylvania, 37 ayes and 21 nays; Rhode Island, 8 ayes; South Carolina, 3 ayes and 11 nays; Tennessee, 24 ayes; Texas, 16 ayes; Vermont, 10 ayes; Virginia, 22 nays; West Virginia, 8 ayes and 2 nays, and Wisconsin, 20 ayes.

**Mr. HOUCK,** of Ohio. — I rise to a question of privilege. The Ohio delegation, voting in accordance with a rule adopted by our delegation that all votes shall be cast as a unit, have voted through their Chairman on this question. That, as I understand it, was not the resolution adopted by the delegation, and I ask that my vote, one vote of the Ohio delegation at least, be recorded "no."

**Mr. BAILEY,** of Pennsylvania, inquired if the Chair had ruled that there would be no chance for amendments.

**The PRESIDENT.** — The demand for the previous question has already been sustained by vote of the Convention.

The following is the vote in tabular form, on sustaining the previous question: —

States.	YeaS.	NayS.	States.	YeaS.	NayS.
Alabama.....	10	10	Nebraska .....	6	—
Arkansas .....	12	—	Nevada .....	—	6
California.....	11	1	New Hampshire .....	10	—
Connecticut.....	12	—	New Jersey .....	—	18
Delaware .....	—	6	New York .....	70	—
Florida.....	6	2	North Carolina .....	20	—
Georgia .....	1	21	Ohio .....	44	—
Illinois .....	42	—	Oregon .....	—	6
Indiana.....	30	—	Pennsylvania.....	37	21
Iowa .....	22	—	Rhode Island.....	8	—
Kansas .....	10	—	South Carolina .....	3	11
Kentucky.....	24	—	Tennessee .....	24	—
Louisiana.....	6	10	Texas .....	16	—
Maine .....	14	—	Vermont .....	10	—
Maryland.....	14	2	Virginia .....	—	22
Massachusetts.....	26	—	West Virginia.....	8	2
Michigan .....	22	—	Wisconsin .....	20	—
Minnesota .....	10	—	Total.....	574	158
Mississippi.....	—	16			
Missouri.....	26	4			

**The PRESIDENT.** — The gentleman from Connecticut, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, has the floor for one hour. The gentleman from Del-

aware (Mr. Bayard) appeals to the Chairman of the Committee to be permitted to address the Convention for ten minutes.

Mr. BURR, of Connecticut.—The gentleman from Delaware is a member of the Committee on Resolutions, and I concede to him ten minutes.

Mr. THOMAS F. BAYARD, of Delaware.—Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—If I know anything of the organization of human opinion, parties have no justification except that they are means to an honest end. If ever there was need for organization for the purpose of reaching honest ends in this country, God knows it is now. (Applause.) If ever the country needed the honest, outspoken sentiment of her people, it is now. If ever she needed men to rise above the petty call of party, it is now; and therefore it is that you show in this assembly no disposition to carp at men for former political differences. You desire to elevate honesty and capacity, instead of insensibility and utter civil incapacity. (Applause.) And how do you propose to do it? Is it not by an appeal to all that is high, and noble, and honest in human nature? If you do not do so you are unworthy of the occasion to which you are called. Now I tell you that the Democratic party is the organization which the sense of mankind in this country will point out as the best means through which and by which the political salvation of our country can be wrought. (Applause.)

Yet upon this occasion what have we witnessed? Not a shrinking of life-long Democrats from clasping hands with honest men of the Liberal Republican party. You have not witnessed that. On the contrary, you have witnessed a willingness, scarcely attempted to be suppressed, and a desire to forget the past political and party differences in favor of a great present, and noble, and almost holy object. Now, gentleman, I ask you in all fairness, shall this great organization, dignified by years and dignified by sacrifices, for the sake of patriotic feeling, not be allowed to have an independent expression of its own honest sentiment? (Applause and cries of "Yes.") What, then, can be said in favor of the proposition that, cut and dried, we shall, without crossing a *t*, or dotting an *i*, force down our throats without mastication or digestion, the action of other men who have not been called into our councils, however much they may desire to act with us in reference to a common object? (Cries of "No! no!") It may be proper for me to state that of the minority in the committee who voted against the adoption of the resolutions I was one. I am glad, for the sake of my own conscience, that I was one of the minority who opposed the adoption of the Cincinnati platform, a platform containing many things that we respect and adhere to, but much that we desire to modify and correct. But I think it becoming the dignity of this grand National organization of nearly three millions of freemen, or those who deem themselves freemen, that we should at least be permitted to have an unrestrained moderate, straightforward expression of our own opinions, without having the words of other men, unchosen by us, forced down our throats. (Cheers and hisses.)

Now, gentlemen, I ask you, will not the Democratic masses of the country demand of this Convention that the expression which you shall give shall not

be merely the cut-and-dried language of another, but that it shall be the expression of the unterrified, clear, outspoken wishes of the Democratic party itself? Are we not entitled to it? I consider that it will; and for that reason I did constantly move amendments which were utterly rejected. The technicalities of parliamentary law were adopted to exclude them, and we stand here to-day and shall probably, according to the expression of this assembly, go before the country, for the first time in the history of our party, without an independent expression of its cherished sentiments. Is the Convention ready for it? I am not. When I was born, the Democratic party was in existence. The hopes of my youth, the first vote of my manhood, and the best exertions of my heart and brain ever since have been given to its support. (Applause.) I do not wish to abandon it now. I do not wish to see a great majority merged in the voice and clad in the garb of that which is after all a small minority compared to our own force. It is not just, it is not wise to ask it; and I tell you, gentlemen of the Convention, that your constituents will demand from you why you have not expressed your sentiments by your own voice. (Mr. Bayard's time being exhausted, he was about to retire from the platform when there were loud cries of "Go on," mingled with applause.)

Mr. BURR (to Mr. Bayard). — Go on as long as you please.

The PRESIDENT. — The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions states that he does not himself desire to take up any time in discussion. (A voice, "Nor anybody else.") But he is willing out of respect to the minority to allow Mr. Bayard to occupy ten minutes longer. (Applause.)

Mr. JAMES GALLAGHER, of Connecticut. — As a member of this Convention I object to Mr. Bayard or any other man undertaking —

The PRESIDENT (interrupting). — The gentleman from Connecticut is not in order.

Mr. GALLAGHER. — I rise to a question of privileges.

The PRESIDENT. — The gentleman from Connecticut is not in order. The gentleman from Delaware has the floor and will proceed. (Confusion.) The Chair will remind the Convention that this is a delegated, deliberative body, and when men rise to address such a body, and are entitled to address it, they should be respectfully heard, even if we do not agree with their sentiments. (Applause.) Let the Convention be in order and hear the gentleman from Delaware without interruption.

Mr. GALLAGHER. — I submit to the decision of the Chair, but give notice that I shall myself ask to occupy a few minutes.

Mr. JACKSON, of Illinois. — Let the gentleman from Delaware state one point wherein the resolutions reported by the Committee are undemocratic or improper. He has not done that yet.

Mr. BAYARD. — I propose to conduct any discussion here not by mere favor. I have no favors to ask of the Convention. (Applause.) I propose to use my time for discussion in my own way, and not to be catechised by any member of the Convention. (A voice, "That is right.") I speak here for the people

of my State; I will try to represent them. I am here to give my best judgment for the benefit of my country. It is only by conflict of honest opinions that justice and good sense can be wrought out. Therefore I say that I think this Convention would do much more wisely to express its own sentiments, and not, as I have said, adopt cut and dried, without mastication or digestion, the sentiments of others.

Now, Mr. President, look at the facts before the country. What is it that to-day puts us morally in chains? Is it not the interference by the Federal Government in the local concerns of the States? Is it not tyranny and usurpation, which, under the garb of constitutional amendments, under the garb of statutes passed in alleged accordance with those amendments, throttle to-day the voice of the American people? I ask you how came it that men-of-war, with guns ready shotted and run out for action, were placed at the foot of your peaceful streets, two years ago, on the day of your election? What brought the vessels of war with that American flag, of which we are all so proud, at the masthead, — what brought them at the foot of peaceful streets, ready to sweep from the highways citizens engaged in their peaceful and orderly avocations, should the word of command be given? What brought military expeditions, with all the formality of war, with munitions, fixed and unfixed, and with rations for so many days, with all the paraphernalia of a hostile military expedition? What brought that into the heart of the great city of New York two years ago? I will tell you. It was the exercise by Congress of a pretended power under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. That was intended to crush the South, and it reacted on the North, and the North must be stricken down by the same power that has prostrated the unhappy South in the dust. Gentlemen, I appeal to you on this subject. There should be some expression of our own on this question. If feeling for our Southern brethren will not tempt you to it, at least let human selfishness dictate to you that you must take care of them, in order that you may guard yourselves. Why is it there is not some expression on this subject by this assembly? After all, is not the great point this? Give us a free Federal election — an election undisturbed by Federal money, by Federal threats, by Federal officials, by Federal bayonets; unchain the great heart of the American people, and let them vote freely, and then we shall have rulers who will bring us peace, and put an end to these troubles which are now agitating the country. (Applause.) Why do you seek to disturb past issues? Your platform does so. You are asking men now to deny the vote that they gave two or three years ago on the subject of these amendments. Why ask it; why insist upon it? If the issues are settled, as your Chairman has declared, why do you resuscitate them, and put them forward for the purpose of disturbing a plain, straightforward issue between tyranny and freedom; between limited government and unqualified despotism? (Applause.)

Mr. President, I wish some one in better physical health than I am would urge this view upon you, for I have broken very much, and — I say it proudly — I have broken down in the public service, and from no other cause.

(Applause.) I know there is little time or opportunity within this hour for the discussion of the great principles to which I have barely adverted, but I do say it was becoming, it was right and proper, that this Convention of the Democratic party should speak with its own voice and for itself, and I believe there will be grave disappointment on the part of the great constituency we here represent if this expression shall not be given. If your judgment is against it, I must yield to that judgment, though I cannot give my formal assent to it. I also demand of this Convention that the question shall be put separately upon these various articles upon which we are called to vote. I do not propose to detain this Convention. As I have said, the condition of my health forbids it; but I desire to enter my protest against this adoption of the language of a platform framed by other men not of the same political faith with the Convention. (Applause.)

Mr. O'CONNOR, of South Carolina. — Mr. President — (Cries of "Take the stand!")

The PRESIDENT. — What does the gentleman desire?

Mr. O'CONNOR. — I desire to speak briefly upon this subject. If the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Burr) will allow me ten minutes, I will endeavor to make myself heard by the whole Convention from my place.

"Take the stand! Take the stand!"

The PRESIDENT. — Mr. O'Connor will please come upon the stand.

*Speech of Mr. O'Connor.*

Mr. O'Connor advanced to the platform, and said:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION, — I profoundly regret that there should be any division of opinion, either upon the platform of principles or upon candidates, in this solemn juncture of our national affairs. The whole nation is at present in a crisis when all issues should be merged in the one great and overshadowing issue, — the defeat of the present National Administration, — that the Republic may no longer suffer any detriment. (Applause.)

Mr. President and Gentlemen: The great changes which have taken place in the last eight years, tending to the gradual centralization of this Government in all its departments, calls in an unscrupulous Executive to commit acts of usurpation and tyranny that now endanger the very existence of American liberty. In the rapid march of these events, many of the ancient landmarks of old political organizations have been swept away and entirely forgotten, while many others of those landmarks have been modified and changed to the existing situation of things. The constitutional amendments which, in 1868, were by this Convention denounced as unconstitutional, revolutionary and void, have been accepted by nearly all the State Conventions as fixed facts,

and accepted by the organs of almost all shades of political opinion throughout the country. (Applause.) The Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment, the amendment which decreed universal suffrage — that amendment which was felt more seriously perhaps in our State than in any other — I say that amendment, which was at first threatened to be obliterated, has now been acquiesced in as a public expression of the public will, and I say to you that it never can be successfully controverted, and never will be. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. President, public opinion is higher than all governments, and higher than all conventional principles, and before its rising tide old landmarks must disappear and new ones be established. (Cheers.) I say it is just as impossible to establish a government over man, as it is in nature to create men, without passing from infancy to manhood, and without being as conscious of the growth of public opinion as of the changes of the seasons. And here is the great Democratic party to-day, with its glorious associations clinging to her name and her character, and the whole nation beyond and outside of her appealing to her to lay upon the altar of a common country all past antagonisms. (Loud applause.) We have not come here to organize a movement for a single State or a single section, but to organize a movement for the salvation of the whole Republic. (Great cheering.) Though South Carolina may be crushed almost to annihilation by the mass that is weighing her down, and though sister States of the South may be exhausted by the oppressions of a Radical Government, we will hope for better things. What is the picture of to-day? We have a President who does not present himself in the guise of a simple civilian, but arrays himself in the epaulettes of a General; who one day thrusts his offensive threats in the face of England, and the next ignominiously strikes the American colors; who one day truckles to Granville and Gladstone, and the next orders his General Sickles to threaten the weak government of Spain. (Hisses.) I say to you that these great, these tremendous issues are sufficient to unite the whole nation in one holy and invincible alliance to defeat this unhallowed Government.

Mr. President, I fear that I have trespassed almost too much upon your time. ("Go on! go on!") But I beg leave to say for South Carolina, that she hopes to be able to clasp hands with the North over the bloody chasm left by the war, and she expects to do it in the election of Horace Greeley. Let me say this to the gentleman from Delaware, the Thirteenth Amendment is practically nought, because all the States have ratified the abolition of slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment is practically a nullity in consequence of the late amnesty act, and will become a complete nullity when Horace Greeley is elected. (Applause.) And as to the Fifteenth Amendment, let me say to the gentleman from Delaware, that while our State has to endure what he so much objects to, negro suffrage *ad nauseam*, I would be the last man, and I deprecate the day when any party in this republic will ever enroll upon its banner the proposition to wrest from the four millions of Africans that boon which has been given to them, and is theirs to-day. (Applause.) Let them

have it, and let them keep it, and we will accommodate ourselves to the situation. Have patience. This great party is going into power, and we will have a government which will be equal in its laws, and which will ensure equal and exact justice to all men. (Applause.) Of all the effects of this Administration, that which we have felt most peculiarly hard has been the act by which the President of the United States was given the power to suspend the great writ of *habeas corpus*. Our State—our poor State of South Carolina—the Ireland of America—South Carolina almost broken upon the political wheel of fortune—I say that as far as she is concerned, when I think of the manner in which that act has been carried out, if men could realize it, the fact would shock the sense of the whole civilized world. (Calls of "Time! time!") I have nearly exhausted the Convention and myself, and I will close. (Applause.)

Mr. MCRAE, of Tennessee.—I ask the courtesy which has been extended to the gentlemen from other sections of the country for the section from which I come. If we are not permitted to vote according to our own consciences in our delegation, and if we have not been permitted to vote like freemen, I hope we will have freedom of utterance in a Democratic National Convention.

Here the speaker was called to order from all parts of the house. He attempted to continue, but was again stopped with calls of "Order!"

During the confusion the Chairman rose and said the floor had been ceded to Judge Reagan of Texas.

#### *Judge Reagan's Speech.*

Mr. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION,—It is not by any special desire of my own that I appear before you, but it is by the special request of the delegation from Texas, and some others, that I trespass upon your time but for a moment, for the purpose of saying that the people of Texas, through their delegation, have come to this Convention for the purpose of making their offering, in common with the offering of the delegates from the other States, of concession to good-will and charity between the people of all portions of the Union.

The committee appointed by the Convention has submitted to you, as its report for the adoption of the Convention, the platform of principles announced by the Cincinnati Convention. The sense of this Convention is to be taken upon that question. We are called upon to inquire whether we think it will be acceptable to the people or not, and whether it be proper for us to adopt the report of the committee depends precisely upon the circumstances in which we are involved. It has not been believed in the South, and perhaps not elsewhere, that we could succeed in the pending contest for the Presidency upon

a straight Democratic ticket, and that is the belief of the people of the State of Texas. The temper of the Convention is not such, and the time is too valuable for us to discuss this question as fully as might be desired. We simply say that the Moderate Republicans, for the sake of constitutional government; for the sake of the restoration of fraternal feelings and good-will between the people of all sections of the country; for the sake of the reform of the civil service, have consented to abandon the organization to which they belonged, and for the attainment of these ends desire to strike hands with the Democratic party, or any other party who may favor these great objects. (Applause.)

Through our portion of the country we feel a profound gratification that this has opened up the seeming chance for a complete adjustment and settlement of all the differences which have existed between the different portions of the country. We come here, not to assert the time-honored principles of the Democracy, as might have been done under other circumstances, but to make whatever concessions are necessary to be made in order to meet friends who are willing to join with us in the great movement now before the country. The platform which has been adopted announces in the main those great fundamental principles upon which we may safely undertake to carry out the policy that our Constitution calls for. It is objected on the part of some that it is improper to have proposed to affirm the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. I feel that whatever our prejudices may have been on that subject, the refusal to acquiesce in those amendments would be our defeat in the pending contest, and that the affirmance of them is but affirming what is in the Constitution, and what every officer of the Government is required to swear to support. You must affirm what is in the platform in that respect, or you cannot succeed.

And why shall we not affirm it? How can we alter it? It can only be altered by a vote of three-fourths of the States. How are we to get that? What good can come of opposing these amendments to the Constitution? We can maintain a factious opposition to it, but in doing so we are powerless for our own protection, and impotent in the face of such political organization as may uphold these amendments.

Mr. BURR, of Conn.—I now propose to demand a vote on the main question, as the hour has nearly expired.

Mr. MCRAE, of Tennessee.—Am I to be cut off?

Cries of “Yes, sit down!”

Mr. BURR (continuing).—The hour has nearly expired.

Mr. MCRAE.—Mr. Chairman—

The PRESIDENT.—Let the Convention come to order.

Mr. MCRAE.—All I have to say is—

Cries of “Order! order!”

The PRESIDENT. — The vote on the main question will now be taken.

Mr. MCRAE. — Mr. Chairman, I wish to say —

Cries of "Order!" and "Give him five minutes!"

The PRESIDENT. — The roll of the States will now be called.

Mr. BARKSDALE, of Mississippi. — As a member of the Committee on Resolutions, I rise to a privileged question.

The PRESIDENT. — The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. BARKSDALE. — I do not propose, Mr. President, to enter upon the discussion of the questions, in view of the present temper of the Convention, which have been introduced in this discussion. It has been announced that the State of Mississippi, through her delegate on the Committee on Resolutions, voted against the adoption of this report. Now, sir, I wish to ask if it is admissible, under the rules which govern this Convention, for the vote to be taken separately on the resolutions.

The PRESIDENT. — The previous question having been ordered by the house, it is not subject to division.

Mr. BARKSDALE. — Then, Mr. President, I ask the unanimous consent of this Convention to allow the vote to be taken on the resolutions separately. (Cries of "No! no!") I do this so that the delegations from the several States may define their position. (Cries of "No! no!")

Mr. GALLAGHER, of Connecticut. — Mr. President —

Cries of "Order! Sit down!" etc.

Mr. MADIGAN, of Maine. — After the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Burr) has given away his full time, does not fair play require that the same opportunity should be given to the gentleman (Mr. Gallagher) that has been given to other delegates upon this floor? ("No! no!")

Mr. GALLAGHER. — I am extremely obliged to my friend from Maine for his courtesy to me, but I see such entire unanimity here in favor of adopting this platform as a whole, that I give up the idea of speaking upon the subject. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT. — The question will now be put, and the roll of States will be called.

Mr. MCRAE, of Tennessee. — I rise to a question of privilege. I insist upon being heard. It is a question of privilege. ("Sit down! Shut up!")

The PRESIDENT. — What is the gentleman's question of privilege?

Mr. MCRAE. — When I was in the last Democratic Convention, in 1860 — (Cries of "Sit down! that belongs to the past!" and laughter.) The question is this: I want to enter my protest against this centralization through the instrumentality of a committee, by which free thought and free utterance in a Democratic assembly composed of representatives from all parts of the country —

**Mr. FAULKNER**, of New York. — I rise to a point of order. It is not a question of privilege for a gentleman to enter a protest under the form of debating a question that is closed.

**The PRESIDENT**. — The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. McRae) is out of order.

**Mr. MCRAE**. — I want to say another word on the question of privilege. ("No! no!")

**The PRESIDENT**. — The pending question is on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The Secretary will call the roll.

*Vote on the Adoption of the Platform.*

The Secretary then called the roll, and the vote was recorded as follows : —

States.	YeaS.	NayS.	States	YeaS.	NayS.
Alabama .....	20	—	Nebraska .....	6	—
Arkansas .....	12	—	Nevada .....	6	—
California .....	12	—	New Hampshire .....	10	—
Connecticut .....	12	—	New Jersey .....	9	9
Delaware .....	—	6	New York .....	70	—
Florida .....	6	2	North Carolina .....	20	—
Georgia .....	3	19	Ohio .....	44	—
Illinois .....	42	—	Oregon .....	—	6
Indiana .....	30	—	Pennsylvania .....	51	7
Iowa .....	22	—	Rhode Island .....	8	—
Kansas .....	10	—	South Carolina .....	14	—
Kentucky .....	24	—	Tennessee .....	24	—
Louisiana .....	16	—	Texas .....	16	—
Maine .....	14	—	Vermont .....	10	—
Maryland .....	16	—	Virginia .....	22	—
Massachusetts .....	26	—	West Virginia .....	8	2
Michigan .....	23	—	Wisconsin .....	20	—
Minnesota .....	10	—	Total .....	670	62
Mississippi .....	7	9			
Missouri .....	28	2			

When the name of Alabama was called, the Chairman of the delegation, Mr. SHORTER, said : —

I ask the Chair whether it would be in order to occupy a minute in explaining the vote of Alabama?

**The PRESIDENT**. — The question now is on adopting the platform.

**Mr. SHORTER**. — Do I understand the President to decide that I have not the right to explain the vote of Alabama?

The **PRESIDENT.** — It is impossible to explain a vote without going into debate, and debate has been cut off by the rules of the Convention. Therefore the gentleman is called upon to vote for the State of Alabama, — yes, or no.

**Mr. SHORTER.** — Well, sir, we claim the right to explain, but we bow to the decision of the Chair, and cast the vote of Alabama as follows: Ayes 12, nays 8.

When the vote of Delaware was cast unanimously in the negative there was a good deal of hissing and confusion in the hall, whereupon the President said: —

I appeal to the Convention as a deliberative body to let each State vote its own opinion without demonstration either for or against. (Good! good!) It is disrespectful to make such demonstration when the vote of a State is declared.

**Mr. GALLAGHER.** — The demonstrations come from the galleries, and not from the delegates.

The **PRESIDENT.** — Let the galleries, therefore, understand while voting is proceeding in this body, that they have no voice whatever, and should make no demonstrations until our proceedings are closed.

The Secretary then continued the roll-call.

The Chairman of the Tennessee delegation, when his State was called, said: —

By the rule of our delegation, a majority of the delegation casts the vote as a unit on all questions upon which there is a call of States. Under that rule the majority of our delegation has cast the entire vote of the State in favor of sustaining the previous question. Under the same rule a very large majority of the delegation vote for the platform as a whole.

**Mr. NEELY,** of Virginia, during the call of the roll, said: —

I rise to a question of privilege. The Chairman of the Virginia delegation has cast the entire vote of the State "aye" upon this question. That has been done; as I understand, pursuant to a rule established by the delegation, that the vote of the delegation should be cast as a unit. I desire to state that at the time that rule was adopted I was not in attendance upon the session of the delegation, because I was unable to be in the city. (Cries of "Order!") I desire to say farther that while I would have felt myself bound by the action of the delegation, had I had an opportunity to express my views at the time the rule was adopted, I do not, under the circumstances, feel myself so bound, and I desire that my vote on this motion shall be entered in the negative.

The PRESIDENT. — The gentleman from Virginia has been speaking out of order, although the chair did not interrupt him.

Mr. McHENRY, of Kentucky. — Mr. President, the Chairman of the Alabama delegation desires to make a change in the vote of his State, and desires to be allowed to explain why he does so. (Cries of "Consent!") He desires the unanimous consent of the Convention, and I hope it will be given to him.

The PRESIDENT. — The Chairman of the Alabama delegation desires, as the Chair understands, to make a change in the vote of that State.

Mr. McHENRY. — Which he has an undoubted right to do.

The PRESIDENT. — Which he has the right to do, and he also asks the courtesy of the Convention to make an explanation.

A VOICE. — How long?

Mr. McHENRY. — Three minutes.

The PRESIDENT. — Is there any objection to allowing the explanation? The Chair hears none. The gentleman from Alabama will proceed.

A DELEGATE. — I object. (Voices: "Too late!")

Mr. P. M. Dox, of Alabama. — The objection does not obtain as to the announcement of the change of vote; it only obtains as to the explanation desired to be made. I say the Chairman of our delegation has that right.

The PRESIDENT. — Will the Chairman of the delegation from Alabama suspend one moment? I understand the member from Alabama (Mr. Dox) to state as a question of order that the Chairman of the delegation has the right to make the change of vote before the result of the vote is announced. In this he is correct, in the opinion of the Chair; but on the question of entering upon the discussion of the reasons which induced the change, it is liable to the objection, that is a debate during the calling of the roll, and upon a question where the previous question has been ordered, and the Chair is of opinion that the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Dox) is right also in that point of order which he has taken. Therefore, in the opinion of the Chair, the Chairman of the delegation from Alabama will simply announce the change of vote in that delegation if he desires to do so.

Mr. FULLER, of Illinois. — I rise to a point of order, and it is this: unanimous consent having been granted to make the explanation, the objection comes too late.

The PRESIDENT. — The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Fuller) raises a point of order upon the objection which was made by the gentleman on the left that the objection came too late, because the Convention had already given its consent. The Chair is of the opinion that the Convention had expressed its unanimous consent, but some one minute afterward, perhaps, an objection came on the left from some gentleman that the Chair in the position where he is placed could not recognize. Therefore I will ask again that the Chairman of the Alabama delegation, with the unanimous consent of the Conven-

tion, be permitted five minutes to explain the reasons why the vote is changed.

Unanimous consent was given.

Hon. ELI S. SHORTER, Chairman of the Alabama delegation.—I always bow with pleasure to the rulings of the Chair, but before I cast the vote of Alabama upon the adoption of the platform, I observe, that if the question were upon the adoption of the principles as announced so frankly in the letter of Horace Greeley (loud cheering), the vote of Alabama would be unanimous; but there are some statements (not principles) in the platform which Southern men cannot adopt without, seemingly at least, stultifying themselves, and I only desired so make this statement so that we might be understood before the country. But we are here for the purpose of doing all that may be in our power to promote peace and harmony, and to secure success in the great cause in which we are now all engaged, and I therefore ask leave to change the vote of the State of Alabama to twenty ayes. (Applause.)

The Secretary then announced the vote as follows: Total vote cast, 732; of which there were ayes 670, nays 62.

The PRESIDENT.—Such being the vote of the Convention, it becomes the duty of the Chair to declare that the report of the Committee on Resolutions has been adopted.

#### *Manifesto of the Germans.*

Governor HOFFMAN, of New York.—Mr. President,—I desire to present a petition. It relates to candidates. It is signed by about fifteen thousand German citizens of the United States residing in the city of New York (cheers), and I ask that the Secretary may read the heading of it for the information of the Convention. (Cries of "Read it!")

The PRESIDENT.—Let the Convention be in order while this report is being read, that we may learn whether the Germans of New York are for us or against us. (Applause.)

The Secretary then read the following:—

At a meeting of prominent German Democrats, held June 25th, the following resolutions were presented by Magnus Gross, and unanimously adopted:—

*Whereas*, At a conference of a small number of citizens from various parts of the Union, held in one of the parlors of a hotel in this city, on the 20th and 21st of June, a few men, without any authority whatever, have assumed to

speak as representatives of the German Americans, and were reported to have given expression to sentiments utterly at variance with the opinions held by the undersigned, and thousands upon thousands of their countrymen in this city and all over the Union; and

*Whereas*, The unfounded statements then and there made are threatened to be urged upon the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore as the sentiments entertained by German voters on the question of choosing candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That in our opinion the ticket chosen by the Cincinnati Convention is a guaranty to peace, to a reunion of hearts as well as of hands, and to honesty, economy, prosperity and progress in the administration of our national affairs.

*Resolved*, that we are firmly convinced that the nomination of HORACE GREELEY and B. GRATZ BROWN, by the Baltimore Convention, will be enthusiastically received and heartily supported by a vast majority of the German Americans, without regard to their former associations, for the simple reason that in the present state of the country and parties no more fitting and satisfactory nominations could be made.

*Resolved*, That the foregoing resolutions, together with the signatures attached to them, be handed by a social delegation of German-American citizens to the Chairman of the New York delegation to the Baltimore Convention.

(Signed.)

MAGNUS GROSS,

*Chairman.*

NEW YORK, July 5th, 1872.

(Signed by fifteen thousand German Americans.)

The reading of the above document was received with great enthusiasm.

#### ***Nomination for the Presidency of the United States.***

Mr. RAY, of Indiana:—I submit to the President, for the immediate action of this Convention, the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That this Convention do now proceed to vote by States for a candidate for President of the United States, and a candidate for Vice President of the United States. (Applause.)

The resolution was seconded.

Mr. SNOWHOOK, of Illinois.—I present the name of HORACE GREELEY, of New York, as a candidate for President of the United States. (Applause.)

The President ruled the motion to be out of order, as another point of business was pending.

Mr. COX, of New York.—I offer the following amendment to the pending resolution, viz., add to it the words, “and that in casting their votes for President and Vice President, the Chairman of each delegation shall rise in his place and name how the delegation votes, and his statement alone shall be considered the vote of such State.” (Applause.)

Mr. RAY.—I accept the amendment.

The resolution, as thus amended, was adopted.

Mr. SNOWHOOK, of Illinois, again rose and said: Mr. President, I present the name of HORACE GREELEY as a Democratic candidate for President of the United States. I must be in order now. I also present the name of B. GRATZ BROWN as a candidate for Vice President of the United States. (Sensation and confusion.)

The PRESIDENT (after suspending proceedings for some time during an endeavor to obtain order).—The double nomination of the gentleman from Illinois cannot be made except by unanimous consent, for by the rules of the Convention, on the nomination, the roll of the States is to be called. The roll will be called first upon the nomination for the Presidency.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of States.

#### ALABAMA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Alabama casts her twenty votes for HORACE GREELEY, of New York.

This being the first vote cast, the name of Horace Greeley called forth a burst of applause, the entire audience rising and waving hats, handkerchiefs and fans, the ladies in the galleries and boxes joining in the demonstration. After several minutes had elapsed of intense excitement, three cheers were given for Horace Greeley.

#### ARKANSAS.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—The State of Arkansas casts her twelve votes solid for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

#### CALIFORNIA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—The State of California casts her twelve votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

#### CONNECTICUT.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—The State of Connecticut casts her twelve votes for HORACE GREELEY, of New York. (Applause.)

DELAWARE.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — For reasons personal to himself, one member of our delegation desires to vote for a different person from what the majority has fixed upon. That person is Senator Bayard, of our own State. But the majority of the delegation has overruled him, and have instructed me to cast the vote of Delaware for one of her own sons, the Hon. JAMES A. BAYARD. (Applause.)

FLORIDA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — The State of Florida casts six votes for HORACE GREELEY, and two blanks.

GEORGIA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — The State of Georgia casts four blanks, and eighteen votes for HORACE GREELEY.

ILLINOIS.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — Mr. President, Illinois is here to contribute her aid to save the country rather than to sustain a party. She casts her forty-two votes for the philosopher, statesman and patriot, HORACE GREELEY. (Great applause.)

INDIANA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — Mr. President, in the incipiency of this great political revolution Indiana was the first to recognize its necessity and to feel its mighty impulses; and recognizing Horace Greeley, the distinguished statesman of New York, as a fit representative of this great movement, she casts her thirty votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Great applause.)

IOWA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — Iowa casts her vote unanimously for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

KANSAS.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — I am instructed by the Kansas delegation to poll the whole vote of the State for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

KENTUCKY.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — Kentucky casts her twenty-four votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

LOUISIANA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — Louisiana casts her sixteen votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

**MAINE.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—The State of Maine casts her fourteen votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

**MARYLAND.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—The State of Maryland casts her sixteen votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Cheers.)

**MASSACHUSETTS.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—The State of Massachusetts casts her twenty-six votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

**MICHIGAN.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Michigan casts her whole vote, as she will her electoral vote, for HORACE GREELEY. — (Applause.)

**MINNESOTA.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Minnesota casts her ten votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

**MISSISSIPPI.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—It is inscribed on the platform above your head “Peace and Good Will;” Mississippi accepts these as the watchwords of the campaign, and casts her sixteen votes for the illustrious apostle of peace and good will—HORACE GREELEY. (Great applause.)

**MISSOURI.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—I am instructed by the Delegation from Missouri to cast her thirty votes for HORACE GREELEY of New York, and to say in addition thereto that Missouri will give the largest majority for HORACE GREELEY of any State in the Union. (Immense applause.)

**NEBRASKA.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Nebraska casts her six votes for HORACE GREELEY.

**NEVADA.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Nevada casts her six votes for HORACE GREELEY.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—New Hampshire casts her ten votes for HORACE GREELEY.

## NEW JERSEY.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—The delegation from New Jersey instructed me to cast nine votes for JAMES A. BAYARD of Delaware (great cheering) and nine votes for HORACE GREELEY of New York. (Renewed cheering.)

## NEW YORK.

As New York was called, the entire delegation rose with Gov. Hoffman at their head. For a moment the Convention was hushed to profound silence. Then the Convention rose with three cheers for New York, followed by three more for Gov. Hoffman. Gov. Hoffman attempted to speak, but the applause at once was renewed in every quarter of the house. Cheer followed cheer, and the galleries rose, the audience waving hats and handkerchiefs, while the enthusiasm became irrepressible. After three attempts to be heard Gov. Hoffman said:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION,—It was my intention, as it was the wish of the delegation which I represent, that I should simply rise and cast the vote of New York without a word of comment, and I should have adhered to this intention if it had not been for two things which have taken place within the last few minutes. One was the declaration of the gentleman from Missouri, that that State will give Horace Greeley the largest majority of any State in the Union. (Applause.) I have great respect for the men who have redeemed Missouri. I have great respect for the gallant men of all parties who have inaugurated this great Liberal movement in this country; but I tell them, and I tell you, and I ask you to take it kindly, that New York will give a larger majority for Horace Greeley than all the votes which Missouri shall cast. (Tremendous cheering.) There is another reason. I have heard with regret the votes cast here this morning for a gentleman for whom I have the highest respect, but which seems to run counter to the general sentiment of the Democratic party, and it is for that reason now that I say a word. I desire to make an appeal to the gentlemen who have cast these votes. The Democratic party has to-day a responsibility such as it has never been subjected to in the history of the country. The coming election involves question of far more importance than that of mere party triumph. It will decide whether for the future we are to have in public affairs the wise and generous rule of the people, or the selfishness of personal government; whether our public servants are to be, as in olden times, subject to the people, or the people, as in later days, are to be subject to them.

A portion of our opponents, recognizing the abuse of power on the part of their own party leaders, and the perils to which republican government is exposed by the continuance of their rule, have bravely broken away from

party discipline, and, with an earnest and manly appeal to the people, offer candidates for the highest offices in the Union, pledged to protect us in our rights of local government and to stop the tendency to undue centralization of power. (Applause.) In the selection of these candidates we were not consulted. Both of them are taken from the ranks of our political opponents. No unworthy bid is made for our support. We are asked, in common with the rest of the people, to give these candidates our votes for the sake of the principles which they are pledged to defend and the ends they seek to achieve. The Democratic party being in number equal to nearly one half the voters of the country, it looks like a great sacrifice that we should follow, instead of leading, in a combined movement against the dangerous men who are now in power. It is a sacrifice that we should forbear making, as usual, a strict party nomination for the Presidency. So far as my own State is concerned, the Democrats therein have decided that the welfare of the country demands the sacrifice; and they tell us to ask that this Convention make no strict party nominations, but indicate its preference for one of the two tickets already in the field; that preference to be, of course, for the one which is pledged to preserve and defend popular government against centralization and despotism. I wish my friends of other States to bear in mind that when New York recommends this course, she herself is foremost in making the sacrifice for the good of the whole. (Applause.) New York is a Democratic State; even during the excitement of the war we had, for half the time, a Democratic Governor; five times since the war we have carried our State elections. Last year, from temporary causes, our opponents carried the State by a small majority and got the control of the Legislature, but their management of the power thus obtained was such that the people of the State are not likely to trust them with it again. The Democrats of New York have no need of new alliances to enable them to keep power at home, and therefore, when they ask Democrats from other parts of the country to make the sacrifice of abstaining from the usual party nomination, they ask this from no selfish motive. (Applause.)

The Liberal Republicans have chosen their own leader. Their movement was first in point of time; they are going in the right direction. They seek the end we seek,—to wit, the preservation, or rather the restoration of free popular government. The good of the country requires that all who seek that end should act together. By so doing we make success certain. The mass of the people see this, and we here cannot pursue any other course than that of sustaining both the Liberal Republican platform and their nominees, without going against the explicit, almost unanimous wish of our several constituencies. (Applause.) The acceptance of the Liberal Republican ticket here is the work of the Democratic masses. (Applause.) We simply represent them and express their will. There sits enthroned and entrenched in Washington an administration which stretches its long arms over the whole country, grasping power which pertains, of right, to the people; using not only the General Government as a thing that is its personal property, but taking

to itself also all the local governments of this mighty mass of free men; interfering by military power with our elections; suspending at its own caprice the writ of *habeas corpus* where it will; making war in fact upon human freedom. The brave band of Liberal Republicans have made it their mission to overthrow this dangerous power, although the head of it is one whom they themselves aided to place in his high station. (Loud applause.) No time can safely be lost in overthrowing this power. Postpone the effort for four years, and the opportunity for recovering our lost freedom may be gone forever. It is our duty to support the present movement, even though we take the place of followers, rather than leaders. The great, mighty, earnest Democratic party can lose no dignity in yielding a question of mere rank or precedence to secure the welfare of the country. Mr. Greeley will go into the Presidential chair not by force of any combination of political leaders. (Cheers.)

The crisis is too grave to admit of schemes for personal advancement, for bargains or coalitions and temporary advantages. He will not be embarrassed by any feeling of obligation to party leaders. He will owe his election purely and solely to an uprising of the people. (Applause.) So far as I can learn, nothing has occurred to place him under obligation to any of the prominent men of the Democratic party. I, for one, frankly admit that if my advice had been sought and taken by the Cincinnati Convention, he would not have been nominated there. Events have proved that the Convention was wiser than I would have been. All that the three millions of Democratic votes ask of Mr. Greeley in return for their support, is that he will faithfully carry out in practice the doctrines of the platform made at Cincinnati, and here, and his own letter of acceptance of his first nomination. There is no need of speeches nor of resolutions to express the reasons for the course which we shall take here. The people understand better than we can tell them, why they accept Horace Greeley as an instrument whereby to drive from power the men who have abused it, and to restore to us an intelligent, responsible, constitutional government. (Applause.) He has been chosen for the purpose, and the public voice, among both Liberal Republicans and Democrats pronounces the choice a proper one. We could not, if we would, turn back this sweeping current of opinion among our constituents. (Applause.) We ought not to disregard instructions so loudly and so plainly expressed. As the mouth-piece of the Seventy delegates from New York, with the concurrence of every one of them, and knowing that I am expressing the will of four hundred thousand Democratic voters in our State, I cast its vote for HORACE GREELEY, of New York. (Loud and long-continued applause.)

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — North Carolina gives her entire vote for HORACE GREELEY. (Great applause.)

#### OHIO.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — The delegation from Ohio, strong in the

faith that in November the vote of Ohio will be in favor of Horace Greeley, and now united in hearty good will, direct me to cast the votes of Ohio, forty-four in number, for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

OREGON.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Oregon casts her six votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

PENNSYLVANIA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Pennsylvania casts thirty-five votes for HORACE GREELEY, twenty one for JEREMIAH S. BLACK, and two blank.

RHODE ISLAND.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Rhode Island casts her eight votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—South Carolina casts her fourteen votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

TENNESSEE.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Mr. President, in less than a week after the nomination of Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown, at the Cincinnati Convention, the Democracy of Tennessee assembled in Convention. There was doubt and hesitancy reigning throughout the Union as to what should be the course of the Democracy, when the Tennessee Democracy, drawing inspiration from the tomb at the Hermitage (applause), took the responsibility of declaring that it was the high duty of every patriot in the land to support the Cincinnati ticket. ("Good!" "Good!") Tennessee was the first to clasp the hand that was extended at Cincinnati, and it now to-day warmly repeats that clasp. Tennessee, then, who has given three Presidents to this Union, casts her twenty-four votes for HORACE GREELEY, of New York. (Applause.) And I desire to say to the gentleman from Missouri and to the gentleman from New York, that as Tennessee was the first to put the ball in motion, she proposes to enter the contest with them and to give the candidate of this Convention a larger majority than either. (Laughter and applause.)

TEXAS.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Texas casts her sixteen votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

VERMONT.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Vermont casts her ten votes for HORACE GREELEY. (Applause.)

## VIRGINIA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Virginia desires to signalize in the most emphatic manner her cordial approval of and sympathy with the great movement of pacification and liberation which was inaugurated at Cincinnati, which is now pushed on by a great outbreak of public sentiment, and which will meet a glorious ratification by the brilliant election triumph which we are to have in November next; and I would not now say anything further but for the fact that I feel impelled by the remarks of the gentleman from New York (Gov. Hoffman) to say a word to those Southern gentlemen who have shown some little reluctance to take part in this great movement. I would say to them that Virginia stood by them and sympathized with them in the dark days of the past. Virginia felt for them and acted with them then, and now that the glorious dawn of a better day is brightening in the Eastern sky, we appeal to our friends from Mississippi, Kentucky, and elsewhere, to come forward and take their position with Virginia, fight this fight out, side by side with her, and share with her in the great triumph which we are to have at the polls in November next. (Applause.) And now, as the strongest evidence she can give of her sympathy with this movement, Virginia casts her twenty-two votes for HORACE GREELEY, of New York. (Applause.)

## WEST VIRGINIA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—West Virginia casts two votes for the Hon. Wm. S. Groesbeck, the other eight she casts for the next President of the United States, HORACE GREELEY, not because of what he knows about farming, but because he desires to preserve the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws. (Applause.)

## WISCONSIN.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Wisconsin casts twenty votes for HORACE GREELEY.

The roll-call being concluded, the President directed the Clerk to read the result of the vote, which was as follows:—

Whole number of votes cast.....	732
Necessary to a choice .....	367
For HORACE GREELEY .....	686
(Great applause.)	
For JAMES A. BAYARD, of Delaware .....	15
For JEREMIAH S. BLACK, of Pennsylvania.....	21
For Wm. S. GROESBECK, of Ohio.....	2
Blank .....	8

The following is the vote in tabular form:—

FOR HORACE GREELEY.

Alabama.....	20	Missouri .....	30
Arkansas .....	12	Nebraska .....	6
California.....	12	Nevada.....	6
Connecticut.....	12	New Hampshire .....	10
Florida.....	6	New Jersey.....	9
Georgia ....	18	New York .....	70
Illinois .....	42	North Carolina.....	20
Indiana.....	30	Ohio .....	44
Iowa .....	22	Oregon .....	6
Kansas .....	10	Pennsylvania.....	35
Kentucky.....	24	Rhode Island .....	8
Louisiana.....	16	South Carolina .....	14
Maine .....	14	Tennessee .....	24
Maryland.....	16	Texas .....	16
Massachusetts.....	26	Vermont .....	10
Michigan .....	22	Virginia .....	22
Minnesota .....	10	West Virginia.....	8
Mississippi.....	16	Wisconsin .....	20

SCATTERING.

Delaware, Bayard .....	6	Pennsylvania, Black .....	21
Florida, blank .....	2	West Virginia, blank .....	2
Georgia, blank .....	4	Groesbeck.....	2
New Jersey, Bayard .....	9		

Hon. Wm. A. WALLACE of Pennsylvania.—Mr. President, Pennsylvania, second only in point of population, the equal of any in the virtue, intelligence and patriotism of her people—Pennsylvania, the pivotal State in the contest—asks to be heard.

Mr Wallace being indistinctly heard, there were cries of “Platform!” when, on the invitation of the President, he advanced to the stage and continued his remarks.

*Remarks of W. A. Wallace, of Pennsylvania.*

Mr. CHAIRMAN,—In obedience to a divided public sentiment among the Democracy of the great Commonwealth we represent, a part of this delegation has cast its votes against the gentleman who, in accordance with the rules and usages of the organization, is now its nominee. The men we have sought thus to represent, from their characteristics of race, of teaching and of thought are

slow to move. They are cautious in movement and steady of purpose, and they regard with distrust and suspicion any departure from the doctrines of their fathers. They have seen no reason why they should reverse their traditions, or choose for their leader one who has heretofore been the embodiment of antagonism to every thought and purpose of their minds. But, sir, they are proud of their organization, for they are the men who created it; they desire to perpetuate its existence (applause) that its glorious record and its benefits may be the heritage of their children, and they will yield obedience to its discipline. (Applause.) They will accept the result that the tribunal of last resort, the high court of their party, has decreed, and in October, under the lead of a statesman of national reputation, will concentrate their forces in an invincible phalanx that shall smite with destroying power a disorganized and divided enemy. Pennsylvania, following the standard of the Democracy in the hands of its now accepted candidate, waits to lead the column to victory. (Applause.) On behalf of the Pennsylvania delegation, and by its direction, sir, I move to make the nomination unanimous.

The motion of Mr. Wallace to make the nomination of Mr. Greeley unanimous was received with a storm of applause, delegates and spectators waving hats and handkerchiefs, and manifesting the greatest enthusiasm, the band meanwhile playing "Hail to the Chief!" During the excitement a curtain was lowered at the rear of the stage, on which was displayed a picture of the White House, which was loudly cheered.

The PRESIDENT.—The motion as made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Wallace) is now in order, and the Chair will put it to the Convention. The question now is, whether this nomination, upon the motion of Pennsylvania, shall be made unanimous.

The question was then put to the Convention and unanimously agreed to, amid loud cheering.

The PRESIDENT.—The next proceeding is to call the States on a nomination of a candidate for Vice President.

Mr. FENLON, of Kansas.—I move that the rules be suspended, and that B. GRATZ BROWN be nominated for Vice President by acclamation.

Amid loud and long cheering, and cries of "Yes!" and "No!" the motion was withdrawn, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll of the States.

The Chairman of the respective delegations responded as follows:—

**ALABAMA.**

For B. GRATZ BROWN, twenty votes.

**ARKANSAS.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Arkansas casts her full vote for that great young statesman, B. GRATZ BROWN.

**CALIFORNIA.**

For B. GRATZ BROWN, twelve votes.

**CONNECTICUT.**

For B. GRATZ BROWN, of Missouri, twelve votes.

**DELAWARE.**

For Hon. JOHN W. STEVENSON, of Kentucky, six votes.

**FLORIDA.**

For B. GRATZ BROWN, six votes; blank two votes.

**GEORGIA.**

For B. GRATZ BROWN, twenty-two votes.

**ILLINOIS.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—The State of Illinois casts her forty-two votes for the Chevalier Bayard of the Republican party, a man who is wise in counsel as he is brave in action, B. GRATZ BROWN of Missouri; like the Spartan, he went to battle to bring back the trophies of victory or to be brought back on his shield. (Applause.)

**INDIANA.**

For B. GRATZ BROWN, thirty votes.

**IOWA.**

For B. GRATZ BROWN, twenty-two votes.

**KANSAS.**

For B. GRATZ BROWN, ten votes.

**KENTUCKY.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—B. Gratz Brown is a native of our

State, Mr. Chairman, and we know him to be a man of courage and patriotism, and we feel that in this campaign he will be supported by the grand army of the people. Let me say to the gentlemen from New York, Missouri and Tennessee that we accept the challenge as to who shall give the biggest majority, and pledge for this ticket of GREELEY and BROWN the entire white vote of the State, and a great part of the black. (Great cheering.)

For B. GRATZ BROWN, twenty-four votes.

LOUISIANA.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, sixteen votes.

MAINE.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, of Missouri, fourteen votes.

MARYLAND.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, sixteen votes.

MASSACHUSETTS.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, twenty-six votes.

MICHIGAN

Casts her entire vote for B. GRATZ BROWN.

MINNESOTA.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, ten votes.

MISSISSIPPI.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, sixteen votes.

MISSOURI.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, twenty votes.

NEBRASKA.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, of Missouri, six votes.

NEVADA.

For B. GRATZ BROWN, her full vote.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation. — New Hampshire casts her ten votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

**NEW JERSEY.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—New Jersey casts nine votes for B. GRATZ BROWN, and nine blank votes.

**NEW YORK.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—New York casts her seventy votes for B. GRATZ BROWN. (Great applause.)

**NORTH CAROLINA.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—North Carolina casts twenty votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

**OHIO.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Ohio casts forty-four votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

**OREGON.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Oregon casts her six votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

**PENNSYLVANIA.**

The Chairman of the Delegation.—Under the instruction of our delegation I announce that Pennsylvania casts her fifty-eight votes for B. GRATZ BROWN. (Applause.)

**RHODE ISLAND.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Rhode Island casts her eight votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

**SOUTH CAROLINA.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—South Carolina casts her fourteen votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

**TENNESSEE.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Tennessee casts her twenty-four votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

**TEXAS.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Texas casts her sixteen votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

**VERMONT.**

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Vermont casts her ten votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

## VIRGINIA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Mr. President, Virginia casts her twenty-two votes for B. GRATZ BROWN. (Applause.)

## WEST VIRGINIA.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—West Virginia casts eight votes for B. GRATZ BROWN, and two blanks.

## WISCONSIN.

The CHAIRMAN of the Delegation.—Wisconsin casts her twenty votes for B. GRATZ BROWN.

The Secretary announced the result of the vote to be as follows:

Whole number of votes .....	732
For B. GRATZ BROWN.....	713
For JNO. W. STEVENSON, of Kentucky .....	6
Blank votes .....	13

The announcement of the result of the vote was received with great applause.

The following is the vote for Vice President, in tabular form:—

## FOR B. GRATZ BROWN.

Alabama .....	20	Missouri .....	30
Arkansas .....	12	Nebraska .....	6
California.....	12	Nevada .....	6
Connecticut.....	12	New Hampshire .....	10
Florida .....	6	New Jersey .....	9
Georgia .....	22	New York .....	70
Illinois .....	42	North Carolina .....	20
Indiana .....	30	Ohio .....	44
Iowa .....	22	Oregon .....	6
Kansas .....	10	Pennsylvania.....	58
Kentucky.....	24	Rhode Island .....	8
Louisiana.....	16	South Carolina .....	14
Maine .....	14	Tennessee .....	24
Maryland .....	16	Texas .....	16
Massachusetts.....	26	Vermont .....	10
Michigan .....	22	Virginia .....	22
Minnesota .....	10	West Virginia.....	8
Mississippi.....	16	Wisconsin .....	20

## SCATTERING.

Delaware, Stevenson.....	6	New Jersey, blank.....	9
Florida, blank.....	2	West Virginia, blank .....	2

For Vice President — whole number of votes .....	732
For B. GRATZ BROWN.....	713
For JOHN W. STEVENSON, of Kentucky.....	6
Blank votes .....	13

*Acknowledgments of Courtesies.*

Mr. JNO. G. THOMPSON, of Ohio, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted : —

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be given to Frederick Raine, Esq., for the gratuitous use of his commodious building known as Raine's Hall, by the National Committee as their head-quarters, and for his many courtesies to them during the session of the Convention.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be given to John T. Ford, Esq., for the gratuitous use by this Convention of his Opera House.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be given to the citizens of Baltimore for their generous payment of all the expenses of the National Committee incurred in holding the Convention, and to John W. Davis and others, of the Baltimore Committee, for their valuable services in the arrangements for the Convention.

*Appointment of a Sergeant-at-Arms.*

Mr. THOMAS Y. SIMONS, of South Carolina, offered the following preamble and resolution, which were unanimously adopted, viz. :

*Whereas*, The National Democratic Committee have recommended Mr. John T. Ford for Sergeant-at-Arms, and he has been acting as such, it is therefore

*Resolved*, That he be the Sergeant-at-Arms of this Convention.

*Honors to New York and Missouri.*

Mr. J. H. Heaton, of Ohio, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted, viz. : —

*Resolved*, That this Convention on its adjournment, in honor of the nominations this day made, will escort with music and banners to their head-quarters the New York and Missouri delegations, under the Sergeant-at-Arms as Chief Marshal.

*Thanks to the Presiding Officer.*

Mr. D. J. Heaton, of Missouri, offered the following : —

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be returned to Hon. James R. Doolittle for the fair, dignified and able manner in which he has presided over this Convention.

The question upon this resolution being put to the Convention, by the Secretary, F. O. Prince, it was unanimously adopted, and was followed by loud applause.

*Place of holding the next Convention.*

Mr. H. B. SMITH, of Vermont, offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That the place of holding the next National Convention be left to the decision of the National Committee, and that the basis of representation be the same as at the present Convention.

*Informing the Nominees.*

Mr. GABRIEL BOUCK, of Wisconsin, offered the following:—

*Resolved*, That a committee of one from each State be named to wait upon the gentlemen nominated by this Convention for President and Vice President, and inform them of their unanimous nomination.

JAMES S. THAYER, of New York.—In rising to second the resolution that has just been offered I beg to call your attention to an incident connected with the Philadelphia Convention, in contrast with the closing scenes of this. When the nomination of Gen. Grant was made, a canvass was unrolled, and there was presented to that body a picture of a man on horseback, shining in his military boots, and in all the array of a warrior chieftain. The war-song resounded through that concourse, and the public men and actors there stood forth glittering in all the raven gloss of hate and revenge. Not one sentiment of good will, not one word of peace was uttered or went forth to the country. In the closing scenes of this Convention there is presented to you as the candidate of the Democratic party a plain American citizen, in humble attire, but with a broad and radiant brow, countenance full of benevolence, speaking peace and harmony, and as pure and genuine a type of American character as was ever born on the soil. The country will hail him as the man whose reconciling genius shall span the dividing stream that rolls between the sections; and before a twelve months of his administration has passed, the dark and bloody chasm will be filled, and the new-made earth will not be pressed by one hostile footstep. (Applause.) And in the future of the country we will not be able even to draw across the continent an imaginary line that shall divide a united people. (Applause.)

The star that glitters above the horizon gives the promise of a bright and untroubled morning. Democrats, Liberals, and patriotic men of all parties hail it as a sign of real peace. Recognizing it as such, a choral strain will ascend from a united people, grand and sweet, musical as the bells of Moscow, as clear and resounding as a jubilee trumpet. (Applause.)

**Mr. HENRY B. PAYNE**, of Ohio, moved that President Doolittle be added to the committee to notify the candidates, and be its Chairman.

This resolution, as amended, was adopted.

The **PRESIDENT**. — Gentlemen of the Convention, — At this hour it will not be expected that I should do more than to return to you my sincere thanks for the kind manner in which you have given expression to your appreciation of the discharge of the duties of the Chair in this responsible hour. I will not detain you any further than to express my hope that by the blessing of Almighty God, the time, cherished in our souls, for which we have longed and prayed, for which we have made some sacrifices and performed some labor; the time when the true system of Republican Government shall be established throughout all our land, and when the blessings of peace shall follow it, — that that time is at hand, that it is coming very soon, and that we see the beginning of its coming here and now. (Great cheering.)

Gentlemen, I will not detain you by any further remarks, but proceed at once to the closing labors of the Convention. Those gentlemen, Chairmen of the delegations who have not already sent in the names for the committee to wait upon the candidates, will send them forward at once to the Secretary, and they will be appointed.

#### *Committee to Notify Nominees.*

Hon. JAS. R. DOOLITTLE, of Wisconsin, *Chairman.*

*Alabama* — F. W. Sykes.

*Arkansas* — J. C. McCabe.

*California* — J. G. Downey.

*Connecticut* — A. E. Burr.

*Delaware* — E. L. Martin.

*Florida* — C. W. Jones.

*Georgia* — W. A. Hawkins.

*Illinois* — A. H. Miller.

*Indiana* — M. M. Ray.

*Iowa* — J. D. Thompson.

*Kansas* — T. P. Fenlon.

*Kentucky* — B. Magoffin.

*Louisiana* — Given Campbell.

*Maine* — J. C. Madigan.

*Maryland* — John Lee Carroll.

*Massachusetts* — J. G. Abbott.

*Michigan* — Geo. H. Bruce.

*Minnesota* — William Lee.

*Mississippi* — E. O. Sykes.

*Missouri* — H. Brockmeger.

*Nebraska* — J. C. Crawford.  
*Nevada* — S. B. Wyman.  
*New Hampshire* — C. G. Chandler.  
*New Jersey* — A. A. Hardenburg.  
*New York* — James S. Thayer.  
*North Carolina* — A. M. Scales.  
*Ohio* — J. A. McMahon.  
*Oregon* —  
*Pennsylvania* — W. A. Wallace.  
*Rhode Island* — A. Sprague.  
*South Carolina* — James Chestnut.  
*Tennessee* — John C. Burch.  
*Texas* — Ashbel Smith.  
*Vermont* — Lucius Robinson.  
*Virginia* — John L. Marye.  
*West Virginia* — William M. Clemins.  
*Wisconsin* — B. S. Weil.  
*New Mexico* — C. P. Clever.

*Thanks to the Secretaries.*

Mr. J. M. HINES, of Kentucky, offered the following: —

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention are due and are hereby tendered to Hon. E. O. PERRIN, of New York, the Reading Secretary of this Convention, for the admirable manner in which he has discharged the difficult and laborious duties of his office.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. E. P. FENLON, of Kansas, offered the following: —

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention are tendered to the Recording Secretaries.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. JOHN MARTIN, of Kansas, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted: —

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby returned to Hon. F. O. PRINCE, for the faithful and impartial discharge of his duties as Secretary of this Convention.

The Reading Clerk announced that there would be in the evening, at eight o'clock, a grand ratification meeting at Monument Square.

And then, on motion, the Convention, at 1.30 p. m., adjourned *sine die*.

## THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

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BALTIMORE, July 9th, 1872.

The members of the new National Democratic Committee, consisting of one representative from each State, met this day at Ford's Opera House, all the members being present except four.

Hon. THEO. F. RANDOLPH, of New Jersey, was named temporary Chairman, and F. O. PRINCE, of Massachusetts, temporary Secretary.

It was voted that when the Committee adjourn, it shall be to meet at the head-quarters of the New York delegation, at the Carrollton House, within ten minutes after the final adjournment of the Convention.

*Voted*, That the election of officers of the Committee be postponed until tomorrow afternoon.

*Voted*, That the officers consist of a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and Executive Committee of ten, of which the Chairman shall be *ex-officio* a member.

The Committee then adjourned.

### *Organization of the National Democratic Committee.*

BALTIMORE, July 10th, 1872.

The Committee met again at the head-quarters of the New York delegation, at the Carrollton Hotel, Ex-Governor RANDOLPH of New Jersey, in the Chair.

*Voted*, to proceed to ballot for permanent Chairman; when twenty-three votes were cast for Mr. Augustus Schell, of New York, seven for Cyrus H. McCormick, of Illinois, one for F. O. Prince, of Massachusetts, and one blank.

Mr. AUGUSTUS SCHELL, of New York, was thereupon declared duly elected permanent Chairman.

On motion of Mr. JNO. G. THOMPSON, of Ohio, F. O. Prince, of Massachusetts, was appointed permanent Secretary of the Committee by acclamation.

Mr. H. B. SMITH, of Vermont, moved to reconsider the motion appointing ten members to the Executive Committee, which was lost.

Mr. JOHN GOODE, Jr., of Virginia, moved that five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum, and that the Chairman of the National Committee appoint the Executive Committee.

Adopted.

It was voted that the Secretary of the National Committee be the Treasurer of the Committee.

*Voted*, also, That the appointment of the resident Committee at Washington be referred to the Executive Committee.

The Chairman then named the following gentlemen as members of the

#### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THEODORE F. RANDOLPH, of New Jersey.

CYRUS H. McCORMICK, of Illinois.

WILLIAM A. MOORE, of Michigan.

ISAAC E. EATON, of Kansas.

FREDERICK O. PRINCE, of Massachusetts.

JOHN G. THOMPSON, of Ohio.

JAMES P. BARR, of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM H. BARNUM, of Connecticut.

M. W. RANSOM, of North Carolina.

WILLIAM T. BATE, of Tennessee.

These appointments were confirmed.

#### RESIDENT COMMITTEE AT WASHINGTON.

The following gentlemen were then appointed members of the resident Democratic Committee at Washington:—

SAMUEL J. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania.

W. W. CORCORAN, of Washington, D. C.

ALLEN G. THURMAN, of Ohio.

JAMES BROOKS, of New York.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR, of Maryland.

#### *Official Notification of Mr. Greeley's Nomination at Baltimore.*

BALTIMORE, July 10, 1872.

DEAR SIR,—It is our pleasure, in compliance with the instructions of the Democratic National Convention, assembled in this city, to inform you that you have been unanimously nominated its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

The Convention, consisting of 732 delegates, representing every State and Territory in the Union, adopted, without amendments, the declaration of prin-

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